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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

IV
PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

VOLUME I.
THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.

VOLUME II.
THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.

VOLUME III.
PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS.
NICIAS AND CRASSUS.

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) texts of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. None of the Lives presented in this volume is contained in the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), the relative value of which is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. A few superior readings have been adopted from the Codex Matri- tensis (M*), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux, as published in Bursians Jahresbericht (1884). No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

Some use has been made of the edition of the
PREFATORY NOTE


The translation of the Alcibiades has already appeared in my "Plutarch's Nicias and Alcibiades" (New York, 1912), and is reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The translations of the Coriolanus, Lysander, and Sulla appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the Sulla by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

April, 1916.
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ALCIBIADES
ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣ

1. Τὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου γένος ἀνωθεν Εὔρυσάκην τὸν Ἀἰαντος ἄρχηγον ἔχειν δοκεῖ, πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Ἀλκμαιωνίδης ἦν, ἐκ Δεινομάχης γεγονὼς τῆς Μεγακλέους. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Κλεινίας ἰδιοστόλω τριήρει περὶ Ἀρτέμισιον εὐδόξως ἐναυμάχησεν, ὑστερον δὲ Βοιωτοῖς μαχόμενος περὶ Κορώνειαν ἀπέθανε. τοὺ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου Περικλῆς καὶ Ἀρίφρων οἱ Ξανθίττου, προσήκοντες κατὰ γένος, ἐπετρόπευον.

2. Δέγνεται δ' οὐ κακῶς ὅτι τῆς Σωκράτους πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας οὐ μικρὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπέλαυσεν, εἰγε Νικίον μὲν καὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Δαμάχου καὶ Φορμίωνος Ὀρασιβούλου τε καὶ Ὑθραμένους, ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων κατ' αὐτὸν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἡ μήτηρ όνοματος τετύχησεν, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ καὶ τίτθην, γένος Δάκαιων, Ἀμύκλαν ὄνομα, καὶ Ζώπνου παιδαγωγὸν ἱσμεν, ὅν τὸ μὲν Ἀντισθένης, τὸ δὲ Πλάτων ἱστόρηκε.
ALCIBIADES

I. The family of Alcibiades, it is thought, may be traced back to Eurysaces,¹ the son of Aias, as its founder; and on his mother's side he was an Alcmæonid, being the son of Deiımache, the daughter of Megacles. His father, Cleïnias, fitted out a trireme at his own cost and fought gloriously at Artemisium.² He was afterwards slain at Coroneia,³ fighting the Boeotians, and Alcibiades was therefore reared as the ward of Pericles and Aríphron, the sons of Xanthippus, his near kinsmen.⁴

It is said, and with good reason, that the favour and affection which Socrates showed him contributed not a little to his reputation. Certain it is that Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes were prominent men, and his contemporaries, and yet we cannot so much as name the mother of any one of them; whereas, in the case of Alcibiades, we even know that his nurse, who was a Spartan woman, was called Amycla, and his tutor Zopyrus. The one fact is mentioned by Antisthenes, the other by Plato.⁵

¹ Plato, Alcibiades I. p. 121.
² 480 B.C.
³ 447 B.C.
⁴ They were first cousins, once removed.
⁵ Alcibiades I. p. 122.
3 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κάλλους Ἀλκιβιάδου οὐδὲν ἴσως δεῖ λέγειν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ παιδα καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἄλλα πάση συνανθήσαν τῇ ἴλλικα καὶ ὡρὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐράσμιον καὶ ἕδυν παρέσχεν. οὐ γὰρ, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἔλεγε, πάντως τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλὸν ἐστὶν, ἄλλα τούτο Ἀλκιβιάδη μετ᾽ ὅλιγων ἄλλων δὲ εὐφυίαν καὶ 4 ἀρετὴν σώματος ὑπῆρξε. τῇ δὲ φωνῇ καὶ τὴν τραυλότητα ἐμπρέψας λέγουσι καὶ τῷ λάρῳ πιθανότητα παράσχειν χάριν ἐπιτελοῦσαν. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης αὐτοῦ τῆς τραυλότητος ἐν οἷς ἐπισκόπετε Θέωρον.

Εἰτ Ἀλκιβιάδης εἴπε πρὸς μὲ τραυλίσασαν: ἃ ὅλος Θόωλον; τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει.” ὁρθῶς γε τούτ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐτραύλισεν. καὶ Ἀρχιππος τὸν ύδα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου σκόπτων: “Βαδίζει,” φησί, “διακεχλιδώσε, θοιμάτων ἐλκών, ὡσ ἐμφερής μάλιστα τῷ πατρὶ δόξειν εἶναι,

Κλασαυχενεύεται τε καὶ τραυλίζεται.”

II. Τὸ δ᾽ ἢθος αὐτοῦ πολλὰς μὲν ὑστεροῦ, ὡς εἶκος ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόπους, ἀνομοιότητας πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπεδείξατο. φύσει δὲ πολλῶν οὕτων καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸ φιλόνεικον ἴσχυρότατον
ALCIBIADES

As regards the beauty of Alcibiades, it is perhaps unnecessary to say aught, except that it flowered out with each successive season of his bodily growth, and made him, alike in boyhood, youth and manhood, lovely and pleasant. The saying of Euripides,¹ that "beauty's autumn, too, is beautiful," is not always true. But it was certainly the case with Alcibiades, as with few besides, because of his excellent natural parts. Even the lisp that he had became his speech, they say, and made his talk persuasive and full of charm. Aristophanes notices this lisp of his in the verses wherein he ridicules Theorus: ²—

(Sosias) “Then Alcibiades said to me with a lisp, said he,

‘Cwemahk Theocwus? What a cwaven's head he has!’”

(Xanthias) “That lisp of Alcibiades hit the mark for once!”

And Archippus, ridiculing the son of Alcibiades, says: "He walks with utter wantonness, trailing his long robe behind him, that he may be thought the very picture of his father, yes,

He slants his neck awry, and overworks the lisp.” ³

II. His character, in later life, displayed many inconsistencies and marked changes, as was natural amid his vast undertakings and varied fortunes. He was naturally a man of many strong passions, the mightiest of which were the love of rivalry and the love

² Wasps, 44 ff. The "lisp" of Alcibiades turned his r's into l's, and the play is on the Greek words κόραξ, raven, and κόκαξ, flatterer or craven.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἡν καὶ τὸ φιλόπρωτον, ὡς δὴλὸν ἔστι τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν.

2 Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ παλαίειν πιεζούμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πεσεῖν ἀναγαγών πρὸς τὸ στόμα τὰ ἄμματα τοῦ πιεζούντος, οἷος ἦν διαφαγεῖν τὰς χεῖρας. ἀφέντος δὲ τὴν λαβὴν ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος: “Δάκνεις, ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καθάπερ αἱ γυναῖκες,” “Οὐκ ἔγωγε,” εἶπεν, “ἄλλ’ ὡς οἱ λέοντες.”

3 Ἐτι δὲ μικρὸς ὁ ἐπαιζειν ἀστραγάλοις ἐν τῷ στενωτῷ, τῆς δὲ βολῆς καθηκούσης εἰς αὐτόν ἀμαξα φορτίων ἐπῆι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευεν περιμεῖναι τὸν ἀγοντα τὸ ξεύγος· ὑπέπιπτε γὰρ ἡ βολή τῇ παρόδῳ τῆς ἀμάξης· μὴ πειθομένου δὲ δι’ ἀγροκιάν, ἀλλ’ ἐπάγοντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παῖδες διέσχον, ὁ δ’ Ἀλκιβιάδης καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ στόμα πρὸ τοῦ ξεύγους καὶ παρατείνας ἑαυτόν, ἐκέλευσεν οὖτως, εἰ βούλεται, διεξέλθειν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀνακρούσαι τὸ ξεύγος ὁπίσω δέλταντα, τοὺς δ’ ἰδόντας ἐκπλαγήναι καὶ μετὰ βοῆς συν-δραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν.

4 Ἐπελ δὲ εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν ἦκε, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὑπῆκουν διδασκάλους ἔπιεικῶς, τὸ δ’ αὐλεῖν ἐφευγεν ὡς ἄγεννες καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι· πλήκτρον μὲν γὰρ καὶ λύρας χρήσιν οὔδεν οὕτε σχήματος οὔτε μορφῆς ἔλευθερο πρεποῦσις διαφθείρειν, αὐλοῦ δὲ φυσῶντος ἀνθρώπον στόματι καὶ τούς συνήθεις ἀν πάνυ μόλις διαγνώσαι τὸ πρόσωπον.

5 ἔτι δὲ τὴν μὲν λύραν τὸ χρωμένῳ συμβαθεῖν σθαί καὶ συνάδειν, τὸν δ’ αὐλοῦ ἐπιστομίζειν καὶ ἀποφράττειν ἕκαστον τὴν τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀφαιρούμενον. “Αὐλείτωσαν οὖν,” ἔφη, “Θηβαίων παῖδες· οὐ γὰρ ἱσασι διαλέγεσθαι;
of preëminence. This is clear from the stories recorded of his boyhood.

He was once hard pressed in wrestling, and to save himself from getting a fall, set his teeth in his opponent's arms, where they clutched him, and was like to have bitten through them. His adversary, letting go his hold, cried: "You bite, Alcibiades, as women do!" "Not I," said Alcibiades, "but as lions do."

While still a small boy, he was playing knucklebones in the narrow street, and just as it was his turn to throw, a heavy-laden waggon came along. In the first place, he bade the driver halt, since his cast lay right in the path of the waggon. The driver, however, was a boorish fellow, and paid no heed to him, but drove his team along. Whereupon, while the other boys scattered out of the way, Alcibiades threw himself flat on his face in front of the team, stretched himself out at full length, and bade the driver go on if he pleased. At this the fellow pulled up his beasts sharply, in terror; the spectators, too, were affrighted, and ran with shouts to help the boy.

At school, he usually paid due heed to his teachers, but he refused to play the flute, holding it to be an ignoble and illiberal thing. The use of the plectrum and the lyre, he argued, wrought no havoc with the bearing and appearance which were becoming to a gentleman; but let a man go to blowing on a flute, and even his own kinsmen could scarcely recognize his features. Moreover, the lyre blended its tones with the voice or song of its master; whereas the flute closed and barricaded the mouth, robbing its master both of voice and speech. "Flutes, then," said he, "for the sons of Thebes; they know not
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ὅμως δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς οἱ πατέρες λέγουσιν, ἀρχηγετὴς Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πατρῴος Ἀπόλλων ἔστιν, διότι μὲν ἔρριψε τὸν αὐλόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν ὅ ἐξέδειρεν.” τοιαύτα παῖζον ἀμα καὶ σπουδάζον ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτὸν τε τοῦ μαθήματος ἀπέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. ταχὺ γὰρ διήλθε λόγος εἰς τοὺς παίδας ὡς εὐ ποιῶν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης βδελύττοτο τὴν αὐλητικὴν καὶ χλενάζοι τοὺς μανθάνονται ὁ δὲν ἐξέπεσε κομιδὴ τῶν ἐλευθέρων διατριβῶν καὶ προεπιλακίσθη παντάπασιν ὁ αὐλός.

III. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀντιφώντος λοιδορίαις γέγραπται ὅτι παῖς ὄν, ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπέδρα πρὸς Δημοκράτη τινὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν βουλομένου δ’ αὐτῶν ἀποκηρύττειν Ἀρίφρονος, Περικλῆς οὐκ εἰὰσεν, εἰπὼν· εἰ μὲν τέθηκεν, ἡμέρα μιὰ διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα φανεῖσθαι πρότερον, εἰ δὲ σώς ἐστιν, ἀσωστὸν αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν βλοῦ ἔσεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἀκολουθοῦντων τινὰ κτείνειεν ἐν τῇ Σιβυρτίῳ παλαιστρά ξύλῳ πατάξας. ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ἄξιον ὑσως πιστεύειν, ἀ γε λοιδορεῖσθαί τις αὐτῷ δὲ ἐχθραν ὠμολογῶν εἶπεν.

IV. Ὅδη δὲ πολλῶν καὶ γειναίων ἄθροιζομένων καὶ περιεπόντων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς ὀρας ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ θεραπεύοντες, ὁ δὲ Σωκράτους ἔρως μέγα

1 Athene threw away the flute because she saw her puffed and swollen cheeks reflected in the water of a spring. Marsyas the satyr was vanquished by Apollo in a musical contest, and was flayed alive.
how to converse. But we Athenians, as our fathers say, have Athene for foundress and Apollo for patron, one of whom cast the flute away in disgust, and the other flayed the presumptuous flute-player." 1 Thus, half in jest and half in earnest, Alcibiades emancipated himself from this discipline, and the rest of the boys as well. For word soon made its way to them that Alcibiades loathed the art of flute-playing and scoffed at its disciples, and rightly, too. Wherefore the flute was dropped entirely from the programme of a liberal education and was altogether despised.

III. Among the calumnies which Antiphon 2 heaps upon him it is recorded that, when he was a boy, he ran away from home to Democrats, one of his lovers, and that Ariphron was all for having him proclaimed by town crier as a castaway. But Pericles would not suffer it. "If he is dead," said he, "we shall know it only a day the sooner for the proclamation; whereas, if he is alive, he will, in consequence of it, be as good as dead for the rest of his life." Antiphon says also that with a blow of his stick he slew one of his attendants in the palaestra of Sibyrtius. But these things are perhaps unworthy of belief, coming as they do from one who admits that he hated Alcibiades, and abused him accordingly.

IV. It was not long before many men of high birth clustered about him and paid him their attentions. Most of them were plainly smitten with his brilliant youthful beauty and fondly courted him. But it was the love which Socrates had for him that

2 An abusive oration of Antiphon the Rhamnusian against Alcibiades, cited in Athenaeus, p. 525 b, was probably a fabrication and falsely attributed to him. It is not extant.
μαρτύριον ἂν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐφυίας τοῦ παιδός, ἂν ἐμφανωμένην τῷ εἴδει καὶ διαλάμπουσαν ἐνορῶν, φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὸν προκαταλαμβάνοντα κολακείας καὶ χάρισιν ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ συμμάχων ὄχλον, οἶδος ἂν ἄμυνεν καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ὡς φυτόν ἐν ἄνθει τὸν 2 οἴκεῖον καρπὸν ἀποβάλλων καὶ διαφθείρον. οὖν δὲνα γὰρ ἡ τύχη περιέσχεν ἐξωθεν καὶ περιέφραξε τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀγαθοῖς τοσοῦτον ὡστ' ἀτρωτον ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας γενέσθαι, καὶ λόγοις ἀπρόσιτον παρρησίαν καὶ δημοῦ ἔχουσιν· ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδης εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς θρυπτόμενος καὶ ἀποκλειόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸς χάριν ἐξωμιλοῦντων εἰσακούσαι τοῦ νουθετοῦντος καὶ παιδεύοντος, ὅμως ὑπ' εὐ- φυίας ἐγνώρισε Σωκράτη καὶ προσήκατο, διασχῶν 3 τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἑραστάς. ταχὺ δὲ ποιησάμενος συνήθη, καὶ λόγων ἀκούσας οὐχ ἥδονὴν ἀναγιγνήσα τραγῳδοῦντος, οὐδὲ φιλη- μάτων καὶ ψαύσεως προσαίτοντος, ἀλλ' ἐλέγ- χοντος τὸ σαθρὸν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ πιεζούντος τὸν κενὸν καὶ ἀνόητον τύφον.

"Ἐπτης" ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλος ὡς κλίνας πτερόν.

καὶ τὸ μὲν Σωκράτους ἡγήσατο πρᾶγμα τῷ ὑπετεῖν ὑπρεσίαν εἰς νέων ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι καὶ 4 σωτηρίαν καταφρονῶν δ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, θαυμάζων δ' ἐκείνον, ἀγαπῶν δὲ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην, αἰσχυνό- μενος δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐλάνθανεν εἴδωλον ἔρωτος,
bore strong testimony to the boy's native excellence and good parts. These Socrates saw radiantly manifest in his outward person, and, fearful of the influence upon him of wealth and rank and the throng of citizens, foreigners and allies who sought to preëmpt his affections by flattery and favour, he was fain to protect him, and not suffer such a fair flowering plant to cast its native fruit to perdition. For there is no man whom Fortune so envelops and compasses about with the so-called good things of life that he cannot be reached by the bold and caustic reasonings of philosophy, and pierced to the heart. And so it was that Alcibiades, although he was pampered from the very first, and was prevented by the companions who sought only to please him from giving ear to one who would instruct and train him, nevertheless, through the goodness of his parts, at last saw all that was in Socrates, and clave to him, putting away his rich and famous lovers. And speedily, from choosing such an associate, and giving ear to the words of a lover who was in the chase for no unmanly pleasures, and begged no kisses and embraces, but sought to expose the weakness of his soul and rebuke his vain and foolish pride,

"He crouched, though warrior bird, like slave, with drooping wings." ¹

And he came to think that the work of Socrates was really a kind of provision of the gods for the care and salvation of youth. Thus, by despising himself, admiring his friend, loving that friend's kindly solicitude and revering his excellence, he

¹ The iambic trimeter is of unknown authorship.
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ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀντέρωτα κτώμενος, ὡστε θαυμάζειν ἀπαντας ὁρώντας αὐτὸν Σωκράτει μὲν συνδειπνοῦντα καὶ συμπαλαίοντα καὶ συσκηνοῦντα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐρασταῖς χαλεπῶν ὠντα καὶ δυσχείρωτον, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παντάπασι σοβαρῶς προσφέρόμενον, ὥσπερ Ἦ Αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀνθρώπῳ.

5 Ἐπούργηκε μὲν γὰρ ἐρῶν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, ξένους δὲ τινας ἐστιν ἐκάλει κὰκείνον ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον. οὐ δὲ τὴν μὲν κλήσιν ἀπείπατο, μεθύσεις δὲ ὀικοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐταιρῶν ἐκώμαζε πρὸς τὸν Ἦ Αὐτόν, καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐπιστᾶσα τοῦ ἁνδρῶν καὶ θεασάμενος ἄργυρων ἐκτιμώματων καὶ χρυσῶν πλήρεις τὰς τραπέζας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς παίδας τὰ ἡμίσχα λαβόντας οἰκαί κομίζειν πρὸς αὐτῶν, εἰσελθέτειν δὲ ὡς ἥξιωσεν, ἀλλὰ ταύτα πράξας ἀπεκλήθη. τῶν οὐν ξένων δυσχειραίοντων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ὑβριστικῶς καὶ ὑπερηφάνως εἶχε τῷ Ἦ Αὐτῷ κεχρημένος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάς, "Ἠπιεικῶς μὲν οὖν," ὁ Ἦ Αὐτός ἔφη, "καὶ φιλανθρώπως δὲ γὰρ ἔξην αὐτῷ λαβεῖν ἀπαντά, τούτων ἡμῖν τὰ μέρη καταλέλοιπεν."  

V. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐρασταῖς ἔχρητο· πλὴν ἐνα μετοικικόν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς φασιν, οὐ πολλὰ κεκτημένου, ἀποδόμενον δὲ πάντα καὶ τὸ συναχθὲν εἰς ἐκατόν σταυρῆς τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ προσφέροντα καὶ δεόμενον λαβεῖν, γελάσας καὶ ἡσθείς ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ δείπνον. ἐστιώσας δὲ καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς τὸ τε χρυσίον ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ προσέταξε τῇ ὑστεραῖ τοὺς ὁνονόμασε τὰ τέλη τὰ δημόσια ταῖς τιμαῖς ὑπερβάλλειν ἀντωνοῦ-
insensibly acquired an "image of love," as Plato says, 1 "to match love," and all were amazed to see him eating, exercising, and tenting with Socrates, 2 while he was harsh and stubborn with the rest of his lovers. Some of these he actually treated with the greatest insolence, as, for example, Anytus, the son of Anthemion.

This man was a lover of his, who, entertaining some friends, asked Alcibiades also to the dinner. Alcibiades declined the invitation, but after having drunk deep at home with some friends, went in revel rout to the house of Anytus, took his stand at the door of the men's chamber, and, observing the tables full of gold and silver beakers, ordered his slaves to take half of them and carry them home for him. He did not deign to go in, but played this prank and was off. The guests were naturally indignant, and declared that Alcibiades had treated Anytus with gross and overweening insolence. "Not so," said Anytus, "but with moderation and kindness; he might have taken all there were: he has left us half."

V. He treated the rest of his lovers also after this fashion. There was one man, however, a resident alien, as they say, and not possessed of much, who sold all that he had, and brought the hundred staters which he got for it to Alcibiades, begging him to accept them. Alcibiades burst out laughing with delight at this, and invited the man to dinner. After feasting him and showing him every kindness, he gave him back his gold, and charged him on the morrow to compete with the farmers of the public revenues and outbid them all.

1 Phaedrus, p. 255. 2 Cf. Plato, Symposium, p. 219 e.
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2 μενον. παραίτουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὸ πολλῶν ταλάντων εἶναι τὴν ὀψήν, ἥπειρες μαστιγώσειν εἰ μὴ ταῦτα πράττον καὶ γὰρ ἔτυγχαν ἐγκαλῶν τις τοῖς τελῶναις ἰδιον. ἐσθενον οὖν προελθὼν ὁ μέτοικος εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπέθηκε τῇ ὀψή τάλαντον. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ τελῶναι συστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐκέλευσον ὀνομάζειν ἐγγυνητίν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν εὑρόντος, θυρυβουμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦντος, ἔστώς ὁ 'Αλκιβιάδης ἀπώθην πρὸς τούς ἄρχοντας, "Ἐμὲ γράψατ," ἔφη, "ἐμὸς 3 φίλος ἐστίν, ἐγγυνώμαι." ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ τελῶναι ἐξηπορήθησαν. εἰσθότες γὰρ ἂε ταῖς δευτέραις ὑναίς χρεωλυτεῖν τὰς πρώτας, οὐχ ἔωρων ἀπαλλάγην αὐτοῖς ὁσαν τοῦ πράγματος. ἐδέοντο δὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀργύριον διδόντες· ὁ δ' 'Αλκιβιάδης οὐκ εἶχα λαβεῖν ἐλαττων ταλάντων. διδόντων δὲ τὸ τάλαντον ἐκέλευεν ἀποστήναι λαβώντα. κάκεινον μὲν οὕτως ὠφελήσεν.

VI. Ὅ δὲ Σωκράτους ἔρως πολλοὺς ἔχων καὶ μεγάλους ἀνταγωνιστὰς πή μὲν ἐκράτει τοῦ 'Αλκιβιάδου, δι' εὐφυίαν ἀπτυμένων τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καρδίαν στρεφόντων καὶ δάκρυα ἐκχεύοντων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τοῖς κόλαξι πολλάς ἡδονάς ὑποβάλλουσιν ἐνδιδοὺς ἕαυτον, ἀπωλείσθαι τοῦ Σωκράτους καὶ δραπετεύων ἄτεχνος ἑκυνηγεῖτο, πρὸς μόνον ἐκείνον ἔχων τὸ αἰδεύσθαι καὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὑπερορῶν.

2 'Ο μὲν οὖν Κλεάνθης ἔλεγε τὸν ἐρώμενον ύφ' 1 προελθὼν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: προελθὼν

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The man protested, because the purchase demanded a capital of many talents; but Alcibiades threatened to have him scourged if he did not do it, because he cherished some private grudge against the ordinary contractors. In the morning, accordingly, the alien went into the market place and increased the usual bid for the public lands by a talent. The contractors clustered angrily about him and bade him name his surety, supposing that he could find none. The man was confounded and began to draw back, when Alcibiades, standing afar off, cried to the magistrates: "Put my name down; he is a friend of mine; I will be his surety." When the contractors heard this, they were at their wit's end, for they were in the habit of paying what they owed on a first purchase with the profits of a second, and saw no way out of their difficulty. Accordingly, they besought the man to withdraw his bid, and offered him money so to do; but Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent. On their offering the man the talent, he bade him take it and withdraw. To this lover he was of service in such a way.

VI. But the love of Socrates, though it had many powerful rivals, somehow mastered Alcibiades. For he was of good natural parts, and the words of his teacher took hold of him and wrung his heart and brought tears to his eyes. But sometimes he would surrender himself to the flatterers who tempted him with many pleasures, and slip away from Socrates, and suffer himself to be actually hunted down by him like a runaway slave. And yet he feared and reverenced Socrates alone, and despised the rest of his lovers.

It was Cleanthes who said that any one beloved of
εαυτού μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὦτων κρατεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀντερασταῖς πολλὰς λαβὰς παρέχειν ἀθίκτους ἑαυτῷ, τὴν γαστέρα λέγων καὶ τὰ αἴδοια καὶ τὸν λαίμον Ἑλκυβίάδης δὲ ἦν μὲν ἀμέλει καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀγώγιμος· ἢ γὰρ ὑπὸ Θουκυδίδου λεγομένη παρανομία εἰς τὸ σῶμα τῆς διαίτης ύποσφίαν τοιαύτην δίδωσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι καὶ τῆς φιλοδοξίας οἱ διαφθείροντες ἐνεβάλλουσαν οὐ καθ’ ὄραν εἰς μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην, ἀναπείδοντες ως, ὅταν πρῶτον ἁρξηται τὰ δημόσια πράττειν, οὐ μόνον ἠμαυρώσοντα τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς καὶ δημαγωγοὺς εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Περικλέους δύναμιν εἰς τοὺς Ἐλλησι καὶ δόξαν ὑπερβαλοῦμενον.

4 ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ σίδηρος ἐν τῷ πυρὶ μαλασσόμενος αὔθις ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ πυκνοῦται καὶ σύνεισι τοῖς μορίοις εἰς αὐτοῦ, οὕτως ἐκείνον ὁ Σωκράτης θρύψεως διάπλεων καὶ χαυνότητος ὅσκις ἀν λάβοι, πιέζων τῷ λόγῳ καὶ συστέλλων ταπεινῶν ἔποιει καὶ ἀτολμόν, ἡλίκιων ἐνδείξις ἔστι καὶ ἀτελὴς πρὸς ἀρετὴν μανθάνοντα.

VII. Τὴν δὲ παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραλλάσσων ἐπέστη γραμματοδιδασκάλῳ καὶ βιβλίῳ ἤτησεν Ὀμηρίκον. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου μηδὲν ἔχειν Ὀμήρου, κοινοῦ καθικόμενος αὐτοῦ παρήλθεν. ἦτέρου δὲ φήσαντος ἔχειν Ἐλληνον ὑφ’ αὐτοῦ διωρθωμένου, “Εἰτ,” ἐφή, “γράμματα διδάσκεις, Ὀμήρου ἐπαυρισθούν ἱκανὸς ὄν; οὐχὶ τοὺς νέους παιδεύεις;”

2 Περικλεὶ δὲ βουλόμενος ἑντυχεῖν ἐπὶ θύρας
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him must be "downed," as wrestlers say, by the ears alone, though offering to rival lovers many other "holds" which he himself would scorn to take,—meaning the various lusts of the body. And Alcibiades was certainly prone to be led away into pleasure. That "lawless self-indulgence" of his, of which Thucydides speaks,\(^1\) leads one to suspect this. However, it was rather his love of distinction and love of fame to which his corrupters appealed, and thereby plunged him all too soon into ways of presumptuous scheming, persuading him that he had only to enter public life, and he would straightway cast into total eclipse the ordinary generals and public leaders, and not only that, he would even surpass Pericles in power and reputation among the Hellenes. Accordingly, just as iron, which has been softened in the fire, is hardened again by cold water, and has its particles compacted together, so Alcibiades, whenever Socrates found him filled with vanity and wantonness, was reduced to shape by the Master's discourse, and rendered humble and cautious. He learned how great were his deficiencies and how incomplete his excellence.

\(<\) VII. Once, as he was getting on past boyhood, he accosted a school-teacher, and asked him for a book of Homer. The teacher replied that he had nothing of Homer's, whereupon Alcibiades fetched him a blow with his fist, and went his way. Another teacher said he had a Homer which he had corrected himself. "What!" said Alcibiades, "are you teaching boys to read when you are competent to edit Homer? You should be training young men."

He once wished to see Pericles, and went to his

\(^1\) vi. 15, 4.
ΠΛΗΘΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ. ΠΥΘΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΣΧΟΛΑΖΕΙΝ, ΆΛΛΑ ΣΚΟΤΕΙΝ ΚΑΘ" ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΠΩΣ ΑΠΟΔΩΣΕΙ ΛΟΓΟΝ "ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ, ΑΠΙΩΝ Ο ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣ, "ΕΙΤΑ," ΕΦΗ, "ΒΕΛΤΙΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΉΝ ΣΚΟΤΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΠΩΣ ΟΥΚ ΑΠΟΔΩΣΕΙ ΛΟΓΟΝ "ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ;"

"ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΜΕΙΡΑΚΙΟΝ ΔΝ ΕΣΤΡΑΤΕΥ΢ΑΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΠΟΤΙΔΑΙΑΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗ ΣΥΣΚΗΝΩΝ 3 ΕΙΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΩΣΙΝ. ΙΣΧΥΡΑΣ ΔΕ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΜΑΧΗΣ ΗΡΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙ, ΤΟΥ ΔΕ 'ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΟΥ ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΕΣΟΝΤΟΣ Ο ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΕΣΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΉΜΝΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΔΗ ΠΡΟΔΗΛΩΣ ΕΣΩΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΩΠΛΩΝ. ΕΓΙΝΕΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚAIΟΤΑΡΟ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΤΟ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΟΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΔΟΙ ΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΑΞΙΩΜΑ ΤΩ 'ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΦΑΙΝΟΝΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΘΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΞΑΝ, Ο ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΥΔΕΙΘΑΙ ΤΟ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΚΑΛΕΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΟΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΟΠΛΙΑΝ.

4 "ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΔΗΛΙΩ ΜΑΧΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΕΝΟΝΤΩΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, ΕΧΟΝ ΊΠΠΟΥΝ ΔΟ 'ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣ, ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΖΗ ΜΕΤ' ΟΛΥΓΩΝ ΑΠΟΧΩΡΟΥΝΤΟΣ, ΟΥ ΠΑΡΗΛΑΣΕΙΝ ΙΔΩΝ, ΆΛΑ ΠΑΡΕΠΕΙΨΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΗΜΝΕΙΝ, ΕΠΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΙΡΟΥΝΤΩΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΨΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΠΡΑΧΘΗ.

VIII. ΊΠΠΟΝΙΚΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΟΞΑΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ, ΕΝΕΡΓΙΣΕ ΚΟΙΝΔΥΛΟΝ, ΟΥΧ ΥΠ' ΩΡΗΓΗΣ Η ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑΣ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΑΧΘΕΙΣ, ΆΛΛΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΓΕΛΩΤΙ, 195
house. But he was told that Pericles could not see him; he was studying how to render his accounts to the Athenians. "Were it not better for him," said Alcibiades, as he went away, "to study how not to render his accounts to the Athenians?"

While still a stripling, he served as a soldier in the campaign of Potidæa,¹ and had Socrates for his tentmate and comrade in action. A fierce battle took place, wherein both of them distinguished themselves; but when Alcibiades fell wounded, it was Socrates who stood over him and defended him, and with the most conspicuous bravery saved him, armour and all. The prize of valour fell to Socrates, of course, on the justest calculation; but the generals, owing to the high position of Alcibiades, were manifestly anxious to give him the glory of it. Socrates, therefore, wishing to increase his pupil's honourable ambitions, led all the rest in bearing witness to his bravery, and in begging that the crown and the suit of armour be given to him.

On another occasion, in the rout of the Athenians which followed the battle of Delium,² Alcibiades, on horseback, saw Socrates retreating on foot with a small company, and would not pass him by, but rode by his side and defended him, though the enemy were pressing them hard and slaying many. This, however, was a later incident.

VIII. He once gave Hipponicus a blow with his fist—Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man of great reputation and influence owing to his wealth and family—not that he had any quarrel with him, or was a prey to anger, but simply for the joke of the

¹ 432–431 B.C. Cf. chapter iv. 4.
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συνθέμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους. περιβοήτου δὲ τῆς ἀσελγείας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ συν-
αγανακτοῦντων, ἀστερ εἰκός, ἀπάντων, ἀμὴ ώμερὰ
παρῆν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Ἰππο-
νίκου, καὶ τὴν θύραν κόψας εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν
καὶ θείς τὸ ἱμάτιον παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα, μαστι-
γοὺν καὶ κολάζειν κελεύων. ο δὲ συνέγρω καὶ
tὴν ὀργὴν ἀφήκε, ὑστερον δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς
Ἰππαρέτης ἐποίησατο νυμφίον.
Εἶναι δὲ φασιν, οὐχ Ἰππονίκου, ἀλλὰ Καλλίαν,
tὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, δούναι τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὴν Ἰππα-
ρέτην ἐπὶ δέκα ταλάντων· εἶτα μέντοι τεκούσης
ἀλλὰ πάλιν δέκα προσειπράξει τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην,
ός τοῦτο συνθέμενον εἰ γένοιτο παἶδες. ο δὲ
Καλλίας ἐπιβουλήν δεδοίκος προσήλθε τῷ δήμῳ
τὰ χρήματα διδοὺς καὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἀντερ αὐτῷ
συμπέση μὴ καταλιπθόντι γενεάν ἀποθανεῖν.

3 Ἐντακτος δ’ οὖσα καὶ φιλανδρος ἡ Ἡππαρέτη,
λυπομένη δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν γάμον ἑταίραις
ξέναις καὶ ἀσταίς συνόντος, ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀποῦσα
πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφον φίλητα. τοῦ δ’ Ἀλκιβιάδου μὴ
φροντίζοντος, ἀλλὰ τρυφῶντος, ἔδει τὸ τῆς ἀπο-
λείψεως γράμμα παρὰ τῷ ἄρχοντι θέσθαι, μὴ δ’
4 ἐτέρων, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν παροῦσαι. ὡς οὖν παρῆν
τοῦτο πράξουσα κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐπελθὼν ὁ
Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ συναρπάζας αὐτὴν ἀπῆλθε δι’
ἀγορᾶς οἰκαδε κομίζων, μηδὲν δ’ ἐναντιωθῆναι
μηδ’ ἀφελέσθαι τολμήσατο. ἔμενε μέντοι
παρ’ αὐτῷ μέχρι τελευτῆς, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ μετ’
οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εἰς Ἐφεσον τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
πλεύσαντος.
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thing, on a wager with some companions. The wanton deed was soon noised about the city, and everybody was indignant, as was natural. Early the next morning Alcibiades went to the house of Hipponicus, knocked at his door, and on being shown into his presence, laid off the cloak he wore and bade Hipponicus scourge and chastise him as he would. But Hipponicus put away his wrath and forgave him, and afterwards gave him his daughter Hipparete to wife.

Some say, however, that it was not Hipponicus, but Callias, his son, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with a dowry of ten talents; and that afterwards, when she became a mother, Alcibiades exacted other ten talents besides, on the plea that this was the agreement, should children be born. And Callias was so afraid of the scheming of Alcibiades to get his wealth, that he made public proster to the people of his property and house in case it should befall him to die without lineal heirs.

Hipparete was a decorous and affectionate wife, but being distressed because her husband would consort with courtezans, native and foreign, she left his house and went to live with her brother. Alcibiades did not mind this, but continued his wanton ways, and so she had to put in her plea for divorce to the magistrate, and that not by proxy, but in her own person. On her appearing publicly to do this, as the law required, Alcibiades came up and seized her and carried her off home with him through the market place, no man daring to oppose him or take her from him. She lived with him, moreover, until her death, but she died shortly after this, when Alcibiades was on a voyage to Ephesus.
Αὐτῇ μὲν οὖν οὐ παντελῶς ἐδοξεὶν ἡ βία παράνομος οὐδ’ ἀπάνθρωπος εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος δοκεῖ διὰ τοῦτο προάγει τὴν ἀπολείπουσαν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτήν, ὅπως ἐγγένηται τῷ ἀνδρὶ συμβῆναι καὶ κατασχεῖν.

IX. Ὅπως δὲ κυνὸς αὐτῷ θαυμαστοῦ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ὅν ἐβδομήκοντα μνῶν ἐωνημένος ἐτύγχανεν, ἀπέκοψε τὴν ὕφραν πάγκαλον οὐσαν. ἐπιτιμώντων δὲ τῶν συνήθων καὶ λεγόντων ὧτι πάντες ἐπὶ τῷ κυνὶ δάκνονται καὶ λοιδοροῦσιν αὐτὸν, ἐπιγελάσας, “Γίνεται τούτων,” εἶπεν, “ὅ βούλομαι· βούλομαι γὰρ Ἀθηναίους τούτο λαλεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τι χείρον περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγωσι.”

X. Πρώτῃ δ’ αὐτῷ πάροδον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γενέσθαι λέγουσι μετὰ χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεως, οὐκ ἔκ παρασκευῆς, ἀλλὰ παριόντα θορυβοῦντων Ἀθηναίων ἐρέσθαι τὴν αὐτίαν τοῦ θωρύβου, πυθόμενον δὲ χρημάτων ἐπίδοσιν γίνεσθαι παρελθεῖν καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι· τοῦ δὲ δήμου κροτοῦντος καὶ βοῶντος ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς, ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ ὀρτυγοῦς διὸ ἐτύγχανεν ἐχῶν ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ πτοηθέντος οὖν καὶ διαφυγόντος ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκβοῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολλοὺς δὲ συνθερὰν ἀναστάντας, λαβεὶν δ’ αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ ἀποδοῦναι διὸ προσφιλέστατον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ γενέσθαι.

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Such violence as this was not thought lawless or cruel at all. Indeed, the law prescribes that the wife who would separate from her husband shall go to court in person, to this very end, it would seem, that the husband may have a chance to meet and gain possession of her.

IX. Possessing a dog of wonderful size and beauty, which had cost him seventy minas, he had its tail cut off, and a beautiful tail it was, too. His comrades chid him for this, and declared that everybody was furious about the dog and abusive of its owner. But Alcibiades burst out laughing and said: "That's just what I want; I want Athens to talk about this, that it may say nothing worse about me."

X. His first entrance into public life, they say, was connected with a contribution of money to the state, and was not of design. He was passing by when the Athenians were applauding in their assembly, and asked the reason for the applause. On being told that a contribution of money to the state was going on, he went forward to the bema and made a contribution himself. The crowd clapped their hands and shouted for joy—so much so that Alcibiades forgot all about the quail which he was carrying in his cloak, and the bird flew away in a fright. Thereupon the Athenians shouted all the more, and many of them sprang to help him hunt the bird. The one who caught it and gave it back to him was Antiochus, the sea captain, who became in consequence a great favourite with Alcibiades.²

Though great doors to public service were opened

¹ L.e. 7000 drachmas, or francs.
² Cf. chapter xxxv. 4–6.
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ἀνοίγοντος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς τε περὶ τὰς μάχας ἀνδραγαθίας, φίλων τε πολλῶν καὶ οἰκείων ὑπαρχόντων, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἥξιον μᾶλ-
λον ἢ τῆς τού λόγου χάριτος ἱσχύειν ἐν τοῖς 196
πολλοῖς. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δυνατὸς ἦν εἰπεῖν, οἶ τε κωμικὸι μαρτυροῦσι καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ὁ δυνατώ-
τατος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδών, λέγων τὸν 'Αλκιβιάδην καὶ δεινότατον εἰπεῖν γενέσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις.
3 εἰ δὲ Θεοφράστῳ πιστεύομεν, ἀνδρὶ φιληκῷ καὶ ιστορικῷ παρ' ὀντινοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων, εὐρεῖν μὲν ἢ τὰ δέοντα καὶ νοῆσαι πάντων ἱκανῶτατος ὁ 'Αλκιβιάδης, ἥτων δὲ μὴ μόνον ἢ
dei λέγειν, ἄλλα καὶ ὡς δεί τοῖς ὁνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οὐκ εὐπορῶν δὲ, πολλάκις ἐσφάλλετο καὶ μεταξὺ λέγων ἀπεισώπα καὶ διέλειπε, λέξεως διαφυγοῦσης αὐτῶν, ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ διασκο-
πυμένος.

XI. Αἱ δ' ἵπποτροφίαι περιβόητοι μὲν ἐγένοντο καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀρμάτων· ἐπὶ τὰ γὰρ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς καθήκεν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἴδιωτης οὐδὲ βα-
σιλεύς, μόνος δὲ ἐκεῖνος. καὶ τὸ νικῆσαι δὲ καὶ
deύτερον γενέσθαι καὶ τέταρτον, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ὁ δ' Ἐυριπίδης τρίτον, ὑπερβάλλει λαμ-
πρότητα καὶ δόξῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τούτοις φι-
2 λοτιμίαν. λέγει δ' ὁ Ἐυριπίδης ἐν τῷ ἄσματι
tαύτα·

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to him by his birth, his wealth, and his personal bravery in battle; and though he had many friends and followers, he thought that nothing should give him more influence with the people than the charm of his discourse. And that he was a powerful speaker, not only do the comic poets testify, but also the most powerful of orators himself, who says, in his speech "Against Meidias," that Alcibiades was a most able speaker in addition to his other gifts. And if we are to trust Theophrastus, the most versatile and learned of the philosophers, Alcibiades was of all men the most capable of discovering and understanding what was required in a given case. But since he strove to find not only the proper thing to say, but also the proper words and phrases in which to say it; and since in this last regard he was not a man of large resources, he would often stumble in the midst of his speech, come to a stop, and pause a while, a particular phrase eluding him. Then he would resume, and proceed with all the caution in the world.

XI. His breeds of horses were famous the world over, and so was the number of his racing-chariots. No one else ever entered seven of these at the Olympic games—neither commoner nor king—but he alone. And his coming off first, second, and fourth victor (as Thucydides says; third, according to Euripides), transcends in the splendour of its renown all that ambition can aspire to in this field. The ode of Euripides to which I refer runs thus:—

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1 Demosthenes, Against Meidias, § 145.
2 In a speech of Alcibiades, vi. 16. 2.
3 An Epinikion, or hymn of victory, like the extant odes of Pindar.
Σὲ δ' ἀείσομαι, ὦ Κλεινίον παῖ.
καλὸν ἀ νίκα· κάλλιστον δ', ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος Ἑλλάνων,
ἀρματι πρῶτα δραμείν καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα,
βῆναι τ' ἀπονητὶ, Διὸς στεφθέντα τ' ἐλαίᾳ κάρυκι βοᾶν 1 παραδούναι:

XII. Τούτῳ μέντοι τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐπιφανέστερον ἐποίησεν ἡ τῶν πόλεων φιλοτιμία. σκηνὴν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένην διαπρεπῶς ἔστησαν Ἐφέσιοι, τροφὰς δὲ ὑποτις καὶ πλῆθος ιερείων παρείχεν ἡ Χίων πόλις, οἶνον δὲ Δέσβιοι καὶ τὴν ἀλλην ὑποδοχὴν ἀφειδῶς ἐστιώντο πολλοὺς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ διαβολὴ τις ἡ κακοθεία γενομένη περὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐκείνην πλείονα λόγον παρέσχε.

2 Δέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἦν Ἀθήνης Διομήδης, ἀνήρ οὖ πονηρός, Ἀλκιβιάδου φίλος, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ πυθανόμενος ἀρμα δημόσιον Ἀργείως εἶναι, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην εἰδὼς ἐν Ἀργεί μέγα δυνάμενον καὶ φίλους ἐχόντα πολλοὺς, ἐπεισεν αὐτῷ πρίασθαι τὸ ἄρμα.

3 πριάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἱδιον ἀπεγράψατο, τὸν δὲ Διομήδη χαίρειν εἰσα ἡ καλετῶς φέροντα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ δίκῃ συστᾶσα περὶ τούτου, καὶ λόγος Ἰσοκράτεις γέγραφται περὶ τοῦ ξεύγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ

1 Διὸς στεφθέντα τ' ἐλαίᾳ κάρυκι βοᾶν with Hermann and Bergk (Poet. Lyr. Gr. ii. 4 τ. 266): διὸς στεφθέντα τ' ἐλαίᾳ κάρυκι βοᾶν (Bekker, βοᾶν).
"Thee will I sing, O child of Cleinias;
A fair thing is victory, but fairest is what no other
Hellene has achieved,
To run first, and second, and third in the contest
of racing-chariots,
And to come off unwearied, and, wreathed with
the olive of Zeus,
To furnish theme for herald's proclamation."

XII. Moreover, this splendour of his at Olympia
was made even more conspicuous by the emulous
rivalry of the cities in his behalf. The Ephesians
equipped him with a tent of magnificent adornment;
the Chians furnished him with provender for his
horses and with innumerable animals for sacrifice;
the Lesbians with wine and other provisions for his
unstinted entertainment of the multitude. However,
a grave calumny—or malpractice on his part—
connected with this rivalry was even more in the
mouths of men.

It is said, namely, that there was at Athens one
Diomedes, a reputable man, a friend of Alcibiades,
and eagerly desirous of winning a victory at Olympia.
He learned that there was a racing-chariot at Argos
which was the property of that city, and knowing
that Alcibiades had many friends and was very
influential there, got him to buy the chariot.
Alcibiades bought it for his friend, and then entered
it in the racing lists as his own, bidding Diomedes
go hang. Diomedes was full of indignation, and
called on gods and men to witness his wrongs. It
appears also that a law-suit arose over this matter,
and a speech was written by Isocrates\(^1\) for the son of

\(^1\) Oration xvi., \textit{De bigis}.\)
'Αλκιβιάδου παιδός, ἐν ὃς Τισίας ἐστίν, οὐ Διομήδης, ὃ δικασάμενος.

XIII. Ἑπεὶ δ' ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐτι μειράκιον ὃν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὐθὺς ἐταπείνωσε δημαγωγοῦς, ἀγώνα δ' εἶχε πρὸς τε Φαίακα τὸν Ἐρασιστράτου καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου, τὸν μὲν ἦδη καθ' ἡλικίαν προήκοντα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀριστον εἶναι δοκοῦντα, Φαίακα δ' ἀρχόμενον, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς, αὐξάνεσθαι τότε καὶ γνωρίμοις ὅντα πατέρων, ἐλαττούμενον δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον. ἐντευκτικὸς γὰρ ἰδία καὶ πιθανὸς ἐδόκει μᾶλλον ἡ φέρειν ἀγώνας ἐν δήμῳ δυνατὸς. ἦν γὰρ, ὡς Ἐυπολίς φησι,

Δαλεῖν ἀριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν.

φέρεται δὲ καὶ λόγος τις κατ᾽ 'Αλκιβιάδου ὑπὸ 1 Φαίακος γεγραμμένος, ἐν ὃς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γέγραπται καὶ ὅτι τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ πομπεῖα χρυσὰ καὶ ἀργυρὰ κεκτημένης 'Αλκιβιάδης ἐχρῆτο πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἰδίοις πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν.

3 Ἡν δὲ τις Τέρσβολος Περιθώδης, οὐ μέμνηται μὲν ὡς ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ Θουκυδίδης, τοῖς δὲ κωμικοῖς ὁμοῦ τι πάσι διατρίβην ἀεὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τοῖς θεάτροις παραίχην. ἀτρεπτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸ κακὸς ἀκούειν καὶ ἀπαθὴς ὡν ὀλυγωρίᾳ

1 ὑπὸ with Corinēs: καί.
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Alcibiades "Concerning the Team of Horses." In this speech, however, it is Tisias, not Diomedes, who is the plaintiff.

XIII. On entering public life, though still a mere stripling, he immediately humbled all the other popular leaders except Phaeax, the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias, the son of Niceratus. These men made him fight hard for what he won. Nicias was already of mature years, and had the reputation of being a most excellent general; but Phaeax, like himself, was just beginning his career, and, though of illustrious parentage, was inferior to him in other ways, and particularly as a public speaker. He seemed affable and winning in private conversation rather than capable of conducting public debates. In fact, he was, as Eupolis says,¹

"A prince of talkers, but in speaking most incapable."

And there is extant a certain speech written by Phaeax ² "Against Alcibiades," wherein, among other things, it is written that the city's numerous ceremonial utensils of gold and silver were all used by Alcibiades at his regular table as though they were his own.

Now there was a certain Hyperbolus, of the deme Perithoedeæ, whom Thucydides mentions ³ as a base fellow, and who afforded all the comic poets, without any exception, constant material for jokes in their plays. But he was unmoved by abuse, and insensible

¹ In his Demes (Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 281).
² This has come down to us among the orations of Andocides (Or. iv.). It is clearly a fictitious speech, put by its unknown author into the mouth of Phaeax (cf. §§ 2 and 41).
³ viii. 73, 3.
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dόξης, ἢν ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ ἀπόνοιαν οὖσαν 197 εὐτολμίαν ἔννοι καὶ ἀνδρείαν καλοῦσιν, οὐδενὶ μὲν ἥρεσεν, ἐχρήτο δ' αὐτῷ πολλάκις ὁ δῆμος ἐπιθυμῶν προπηλακίζειν τοὺς ἐν ἄξιόματι καὶ συκο-4 φαντεῖν. ἀναπεισθείς οὖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τότε τὸ ὀστρακὸν ἐπιφέρειν ἐμελλεν, ὡς κολούοντες αἰὲ τὸν προὔχοντα δόξη καὶ δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλαύνουσιν, παραμυθοῦμενοι τὸν φθόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν φόβον. ἐπει δὲ δήλον ἦν ὅτι ἐνὶ τῶν τριῶν τὸ ὀστρακὸν ἐποίησον, συνήγαγε τάς στάσεις εἰς ταύτων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ διαλεξθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν κατὰ τοῦ 'Ὑπερβόλου τὴν ὀστρακοφορίαν ἔτρεψεν.

'Ως δ' ἔνοι φασιν, οὐ πρὸς Νικίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φαίακα διαλεξθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου προσλαβὼν ἐπαιρίαν ἐξήλασε τὸν 'Ὑπερβόλου οὐδ' ἄν προσ-5 δοκήσαντα. φαῦλος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐνέπιπτεν εἰς ταύτων τὸν κολασμὸν οὐδ' ἀδοξος, ὡς που καὶ Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς εἰρήκε τοῦ 'Ὑπερβόλου μυσθείς,

Καίτοι πέπραξε τῶν προτέρων1 μὲν ἄξια, αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στυγμάτων ἀνάξια. οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἴνεκ' ὀστραχ' εὑρέθη.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐν ἐτέρως μᾶλλον εἰρηταί τὰ ἰστορούμενα.

XIV. Τὸν δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην ὁ Νικίας οὐχ ἦττον ἡμία θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμῶν ἡ τιμῶ-

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to it, owing to his contempt of public opinion. This feeling some call courage and valour, but it is really mere shamelessness and folly. No one liked him, but the people often made use of him when they were eager to besmirch and calumniate men of rank and station. Accordingly, at the time of which I speak, persuaded by this man, they were about to exercise the vote of ostracism, by which they cripple and banish whatever man from time to time may have too much reputation and influence in the city to please them, assuaging thus their envy rather than their fear. When it was clear that the ostracism would fall on one of three men—Phaeax, Alcibiades, or Nicias—Alcibiades had a conference with Nicias, united their two parties into one and turned the vote of ostracism upon Hyperbolus.

Some say, however, that it was not Nicias, but Phaeax, with whom Alcibiades had the conference which resulted in winning over that leader’s party and banishing Hyperbolus, who could have had no inkling of his fate. For no worthless or disreputable fellow had ever before fallen under this condemnation of ostracism. As Plato, the comic poet, has somewhere said, in speaking of Hyperbolus,

"And yet he suffered worthy fate for men of old; A fate unworthy though of him and of his brands. For such as he the ostrakon was ne’er devised."

However, the facts which have been ascertained about this case have been stated more at length elsewhere.¹

XIV. Alcibiades was sore distressed to see Nicias no less admired by his enemies than honoured by

¹ Cf. Nicias, xi.
μενος υπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. πρόξενος μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τῶν Δακεδαιμόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἀλὸντας αὐτῶν περὶ Πύλου ἄνδρας ἐθεράπευσεν. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τε διὰ Νικίου μάλιστα τῆς εἰρήνης τυχόντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολαβόντες ὑπερηγάτων αὐτῶν, ἐν τε τοῖς Ἐλλησι λόγος ἦν ὡς Περικλέους μὲν συνάψαντος αὐτὸς, Νικίου δὲ λύσαντος τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ τε πλείστοι τὴν εἰρήνην Νικίειον ὀνόμαζον, οὐ μετρίως ἀνωμένος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ φθονῶν ἐβούλευε σύγχυσιν 3 ὄρκιον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀργείους αἰσθανόμενος μίσει καὶ φόβοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἁγοῖτας ἀποστροφῆς, ἐλπίδας αὐτοῦ ἐνδιδοῦν κρύφα τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίας, καὶ παρεθάρρυνε πέμπτων καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς προεστῶι τοῦ δήμου μὴ δεδίει πρὸς ὑπείκειν Δακεδαιμόνων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τρέποντας καὶ περιμένειν ὅσον οὐδέποτε μεταμελομένους καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀφίέντας. 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνωι πρὸς τε τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν καὶ Πάνακτον οὐχ ἔστος, ὦσπερ ἔδει, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρέδωκαν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσαντες, ὄργιζομένους λαβῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐτί μᾶλλον ἐξετράχυνε, καὶ τὸν Νικίαν 5 ἑθορύβει καὶ διέβαλλεν εἰκότα κατηγορῶν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σφακτηρίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποληφθέντας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξελείν οὐκ ἤθελησεν στρατηγῶν,
his fellow-citizens. For although Alcibiades was resident consul for the Lacedaemonians at Athens, and had ministered to their men who had been taken prisoners at Pylos,\textsuperscript{1} still, they felt that it was chiefly due to Nicias that they had obtained peace and the final surrender of those men, and so they lavished their regard upon him. And Hellenes everywhere said that it was Pericles who had plunged them into war, but Nicias who had delivered them out of it, and most men called the peace the "Peace of Nicias."\textsuperscript{2} Alcibiades was therefore distressed beyond measure, and in his envy planned a violation of the solemn treaty. To begin with, he saw that the Argives hated and feared the Spartans and sought to be rid of them. So he secretly held out hopes to them of an alliance with Athens, and encouraged them, by conferences with the chief men of their popular party, not to fear nor yield to the Lacedaemonians, but to look to Athens and await her action, since she was now all but repentant, and desirous of abandoning the peace which she had made with Sparta.

And again, when the Lacedaemonians made a separate alliance with the Boeotians, and delivered up Panactum to the Athenians not intact, as they were bound to do by the treaty, but dismantled, he took advantage of the Athenians' wrath at this to embitter them yet more. He raised a tumult in the assembly against Nicias, and slandered him with accusations all too plausible. Nicias himself, he said, when he was general, had refused to capture the enemy's men who were cut off on the island of

\textsuperscript{1} In 425 B.C. Cf. \textit{Nicias}, vii–viii.
\textsuperscript{2} Ratified in 421 B.C. Cf. \textit{Nicias}, ix.
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έτέρων δ' εξελόντων ἀφίκε καὶ ἀπέδωκε χαριζό-
μενος Δακεδαίμονίοις· εἰτ' εκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισε
φίλος ὧν Βοιωτοῖς μὴ συνόμυνονθαί μηδὲ Κοριν-
θίοις, Ἀθηναίοις 1 δὲ κωλύει 2 τὸν βουλόμενον
τῶν Ἑλλήνων φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, εἰ μὴ
δόξει Δακεδαίμονίοις.

6 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κακῶς φερομένῳ τῷ Νικίᾳ παρ-
ήσαν ὡσπερ κατὰ τύχην πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῆς Δακε-
δαίμονος, αὐτόθεν τε λόγους ἐπιεικεῖς ἔχοντες
καὶ πρὸς πάν τὸ συμβιβαστικὸν καὶ δίκαιον
αὐτοκράτορες ἢκειν φάσκοντες. ἀποδεξαμένης
δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τῇ ύστεραιά μέλ-
λοντος ἐκκλησιάζειν, δείσας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης
dιεπράζατο τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι
7 πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ συνήλθον ἔλεγε· "Τί πεπόν-
θατε, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιάται; πῶς ἔλαθεν ὑμᾶς ὅτι
τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀεὶ μέτρια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς
tοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δήμος μέγα φρονεῖ
καὶ μεγάλων ὀρέγεται; κἂν φάσκητε κύριοι
πάντων ἀφίχθαι, προστάτωι καὶ βιαζόμενοι
198 ἀγνωμονήσει. φέρε δὴ, τὴν εὐθείαν ταύτην
ἀφέντες, εἰ βούλεσθε χρῆσασθαι μετρίοις Ἀθη-
ναίοις καὶ μηδὲν ἐκβιασθῆναι παρὰ γνώμην, οὔτω
διαλέγεσθε περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὃς οὐκ ὄντες αὐτο-

1 Ἀθηναίοι Coraës and Bekker, with C: Ἀθηναίοις.
2 κωλύει Coraës, after Reiske: κωλύειν.

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Sphacteria, and when others had captured them, he had released and given them back to the Lacedaemonians, whose favour he sought; and then he did not persuade those same Lacedaemonians, tried friend of theirs as he was, not to make separate alliance with the Boeotians or even with the Corinthians, and yet whenever any Hellenes wished to be friends and allies of Athens, he tried to prevent it, unless it were the good pleasure of the Lacedaemonians.

Nicias was reduced to great straits by all this, but just then, by rare good fortune as it were, an embassy came from Sparta, with reasonable proposals to begin on, and with assurances that they came with full powers to adopt any additional terms that were conciliatory and just. The council received them favourably, and the people were to hold an assembly on the following day for their reception. But Alcibiades feared a peaceful outcome, and managed to secure a private conference with the embassy. When they were convened he said to them: "What is the matter with you, men of Sparta? Why are you blind to the fact that the council is always moderate and courteous towards those who have dealings with it, while the people's assembly is haughty and has great ambitions? If you say to them that you are come with unlimited powers, they will lay their commands and compulsions upon you without any feeling. Come now, put away such simplicity as this, and if you wish to get moderate terms from the Athenians, and to suffer no compulsion at their hands which you cannot yourselves approve, then discuss with them what would be a just settlement of your case, assuring them that you have not full powers to act.
κράτορες. συμπράξομεν δ' ἡμεῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις
8 χαριζόμενοι." ταύτα δ' εἰπὼν ὄρκους ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς καὶ μετέστησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίου, παντά-
πασὶ πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζοντας ἄμα
τὴν δεινότητα καὶ σύνεσιν, ὡς οὗ τοῦ τυχόντος
ἀνδρὸς οὖσαν.
Τῇ δ' ἕστεραι συνήχθη μὲν ὁ δῆμος, εἰσήλθον
δ' οἱ πρέσβεις. ἐρωτώμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκι-
βιάδου πάνω φιλανθρώπως ἐφ' οἷς ἀφιγμένοι τυγχάνουσιν, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἦκειν αὐτοκράτορες.
9 εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνέκειτο μετὰ κραυγῆς
καὶ ὀργῆς, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἄδικῶν, ἀλλ' ἄδικομενος,
ἀπίστος καὶ παλιμβόλους ἀποκαλῶν καὶ μηδὲν
ὑγίες μήτε πράξαι μῆτε ἐπιτεῖν ἠκούσας, ἐπη-
γανάκτει δ' ἡ βουλή, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐχαλέπαινε,
τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ἐκπληξὺς εἰχε καὶ κατῆφε τῶν
ἀνδρῶν τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἀγνοοῦντα τὴν ἀπάτην
καὶ τὸν δόλον.

XV. Οὗτο δὲ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἐκπεσόντων,
στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεῖς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης εὐθὺς
Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινεὺς καὶ Ἡλείους συμμάχους
ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ τὸν μὲν τρόπον
οὕδεις τῆς πράξεως ἐπῆνει, μέγα δ' ἦν τὸ πεπραγ-
μένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, διαστήσαι καὶ κραδάναι Πελο-
πόννησον ὅλον δεῖν ἀπασαν, καὶ τοσαύτας
ἀστίδας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν περὶ Μαντινεῶν ἀντιτάξαι
Δακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ πορρωτάτω τῶν Ἀθηνῶν
ἄγωνα κατασκευάσαι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς, ἐν φ'
μέγα μὲν οὐδὲν ἡ νίκη προσέθηκε κρατήσασιν, εἰ
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I will coöperate with you, out of my regard for the Lacedaemonians." After this speech he gave them his oath, and so seduced them wholly away from the influence of Nicias. They trusted him implicitly, admired his cleverness and sagacity, and thought him no ordinary man.

On the following day the people convened in assembly, and the embassy was introduced to them. On being asked by Alcibiades, in the most courteous tone, with what powers they had come, they replied that they were not come with full and independent powers. At once, then, Alcibiades assailed them with angry shouts, as though he were the injured party, not they, calling them faithless and fickle men, who were come on no sound errand whatever. The council was indignant, the assembly was enraged, and Nicias was filled with consternation and shame at the men's change of front. He was unaware of the deceitful trick which had been played upon him.¹

XV. After this fiasco on the part of the Lacedaemonians, Alcibiades was appointed general, and straightway brought the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans into alliance with Athens.² The manner of this achievement of his no one approved, but the effect of it was great. It divided and agitated almost all Peloponnesus; it arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Mantinea³ so many warlike shields upon a single day; it set at farthest remove from Athens the struggle, with all its risks, in which, when the Lacedaemonians conquered, their victory brought them no great advantage,

¹ This parliamentary trick of Alcibiades is related also in Nicias, chapter x. ² 420 b.c. ³ 418 b.c.
δ' ἐσφαλησαν, ἔργον ἦν τὴν Λακεδαιμονα περιγενέσθαι.

2  Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ἐπέθεντο καταλύειν ἐν "Ἀργεὶ τὸν δῆμον οἱ χίλιοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπῆκουσιν ποιεῖν. Δακεδαίμονιοι δὲ παραγενόμενοι κατέλυσαν τὴν δημοκρατίαν. αὐθίς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξενεγκαμένων τὰ ὁπλα καὶ κρατησάντων, ἔπελθον ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τήν τε νίκην ἐβεβαιώσε τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη συνέπεσε καθὲναυτάς καὶ προσμίζαντας τὴν θαλάσση τὴν πόλιν ἔξάψαε παντάπασι τῆς Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως. καὶ τέκτονας καὶ λιθουργοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐκώμισε καὶ πᾶσαι ἐνεδείκνυτο προθυμίαν, οὐχ ἢττον ἐαυτῷ κτώμενοι ἢ τῇ πόλει χάριν καὶ ἱσχύν. ἐπεισε δὲ καὶ Πατρεῖς ὁμοίως τείχεσι μακρῶς συνάψαι τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὴν πόλιν. εἰπόντος δὲ τῶν τοῖς Πατρεύσιν ὅτι "καταπίονται ὑμᾶς Ἀθηναίοι." "Ἰσώς," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, "κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πόδας, Δακεδαίμονιοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀθρώς." 3

4  Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεβούλευν ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀγραύλον προβαλλόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐφῆβοις ὄρκον ἔργω βεβαιοῦν. ὁμούνοι γὰρ ὄροις χρήσασθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς πυροῦς, κριθαίας, ἀμπέλους, ἐλαίας, οἰκείαν ποιεῖσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἡμέρον καὶ καρποφόρον.

XVI. Ἔν δὲ τοιούτοις πολιτεύμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ φρονήματι καὶ δεινότητι πολλὰν αὐτὸν τὴν τρυφὴν τῆς διαίτης καὶ περὶ πότους καὶ
whereas, had they been defeated, the very existence of Sparta would have been at stake. After this battle of Mantinea, the oligarchs of Argos, "The Thousand," set out at once to depose the popular party and make the city subject to themselves; and the Lacedaemonians came and deposed the democracy. But the populace took up arms again and got the upper hand. Then Alcibiades came and made the people's victory secure. He also persuaded them to run long walls down to the sea, and so to attach their city completely to the naval dominion of Athens. He actually brought carpenters and masons from Athens, and displayed all manner of zeal, thus winning favour and power for himself no less than for his city. In like manner he persuaded the people of Patrae to attach their city to the sea by long walls. Thereupon some one said to the Patrensians: "Athens will swallow you up!" "Perhaps so," said Alcibiades, "but you will go slowly, and feet first; whereas Sparta will swallow you head first, and at one gulp."

However, he counselled the Athenians to assert dominion on land also, and to maintain in very deed the oath regularly propounded to their young warriors in the sanctuary of Agraulus. They take oath that they will regard wheat, barley, the vine, and the olive as the natural boundaries of Attica, and they are thus trained to consider as their own all the habitable and fruitful earth.

XVI. But all this statecraft and eloquence and lofty purpose and cleverness was attended with great luxuriousness of life, with wanton drunken-

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1 417 B.C.  
2 419 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐρωτας ὑβρίσματα, καὶ θηλύτητας ἐσθήτων ἀλουργῶν ἐλκομένων δὲ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ πολυτέλειαν ὑπερήφανον, ἐκτομάς τε καταστρωμάτων ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσιν, ὅπως μαλακώτερον ἐγκαθεύδοι, κειρίαις, ἀλλὰ μὴ σανίσι, τῶν στραμμάτων ἐπιβαλλομένων, ἀσπίδος τε διαχρύσου ποίησιν οὐδὲν 2 ἐπίσημον τῶν πατρίων ἔχουσαν, ἀλλ’ Ἔρωτα κεραυνοφόρον, ἀπερ[1] ὅρωντες οἱ μὲν ἐνδοξοὶ μετὰ τοῦ βδελύττεσθαι καὶ δυσχεραίνεις ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ὀλυγορίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρανομίαν, ὡς τυραννικὰ καὶ ἀλλόκοτα, τοῦ δὲ δῆμου τὸ πάθος τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ κακῶς ἔξηγούμενος ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ταῦτ’ εἴρηκε.

Ποθεὶ μὲν, ἐχθαίρει δὲ, βούλεται δ’ ἔχειν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ πιέζων.

Μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ ὁ πόλει τρέφειν· ἢν δ’ ἐκτρέφῃ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

3 ἐπιδόσεις γὰρ καὶ χορηγίαι καὶ φιλοτιμήματα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπερβολὴν μὴ ἀπολείποντα καὶ δόξα προγόνων καὶ λόγου δύναμις καὶ σώματος εὑπρέπεια καὶ ῥόμη μετ’ ἐμπειρίας τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ ἀλκῆς πᾶντα τάλλα συγχωρεῖν ἐποίει καὶ φέρειν μετρίως τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀεὶ τὰ πράγματα τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι τιθεμένους, παιδιᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας.

[1] ἀπερ. Either some verb is to be supplied from the context for the preceding accusatives (so Coraës), or ἀπερ is to be deleted (so Bekker and Sintenis²).
ness and lewdness, with effeminacy in dress,—he would trail long purple robes through the market place,—and with prodigal expenditures. He would have the decks of his triremes cut away that he might sleep more softly, his bedding being slung on cords rather than spread on the hard planks. He had a golden shield made for himself, bearing no ancestral device, but an Eros armed with a thunderbolt. The reputable men of the city looked on all these things with loathing and indignation, and feared his contemptuous and lawless spirit. They thought such conduct as his tyrant-like and monstrous. How the common folk felt towards him has been well set forth by Aristophanes\(^1\) in these words:

"It yearns for him, and hates him too, but wants him back;"

and again, veiling a yet greater severity in his metaphor:

"A lion is not to be reared within the state;
But, once you’ve reared him up, consult his every mood."

And indeed, his voluntary contributions of money, his support of public exhibitions, his unsurpassed munificence towards the city, the glory of his ancestry, the power of his eloquence, the comeliness and vigor of his person, together with his experience and prowess in war, made the Athenians lenient and tolerant towards everything else; they were forever giving the mildest of names to his transgressions, calling them the product of youthful spirits and ambition.

\(^1\) Frogs, 1425; 1431–1432.
4 Ὅλον ἦν καὶ τὸ Ἀγάθαρχον ἐβραίον τοῦ ζωγράφου, εἰτα γράψαντα τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφεῖναι δωρησάμενον καὶ Ταυρέαν ἀντιχορηγοῦντα ῥαπίσαι φιλοτιμούμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης· καὶ τὸ Μηλίαν γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν αἱμαλώτων ἐξελόμενον καὶ
5 συνόντα θρέψαι παιδάριον ἐξ αὐτῆς· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο φιλάνθρωπον ἐκάλουν· πλὴν ὥτι τοὺς Μηλίους ἠβηδόν ἀποσφαγῆναι τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔσχε, τῷ ψηφίσματι συνειπὼν.

'Ἄριστοφῶντος δὲ Νεμέαν γράψαντος ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτῆς καθήμενον �uations, ἐθεσάκτο καὶ συνέτρεχον χαίροντες. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχέραινον ὡς τυραννικοὶ καὶ παρανόμοις. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέστρατος οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπον λέγειν ὡς ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐκ ἀν ἦνεγκε δύο Ἀλκιβιάδας.

6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος εὐημερῆσαντα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ προπεμπόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιφανῶς οὐ παρήλθεν οὐδὲ ἐξέκλινεν, ὥσπερ εἰὼθε τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ ἀπαντήσας καὶ δεξιοσάμενος, “Εὖ γ’,” ἔφη, “ποιεῖσ αὐξόμενος, ὦ παῖ: μέγα γὰρ αὐξή κακὸν ἀπασὶ τούτοις,” οἱ μὲν ἐγέλων, οἱ δὲ ἐβλασφήμουν, ἐνίοτες δὲ καὶ πάνω τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπέστρεφεν. οὕτως ἄκριτος ἦν ἡ δόξα περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀνωμαλίαν.

XVII. Σικελίας δὲ καὶ Περικλέους ἔτι ζῶντος.
ALCIBIADES

For instance, he once imprisoned the painter Agatharchus in his house until he had adorned it with paintings for him, and then dismissed his captive with a handsome present. And when Taureas was supporting a rival exhibition, he gave him a box on the ear, so eager was he for the victory. And he picked out a woman from among the prisoners of Melos to be his mistress, and reared a son she bore him. This was an instance of what they called his kindness of heart, but the execution of all the grown men of Melos\(^1\) was chiefly due to him, since he supported the decree therefor.

Aristophon painted Nemea\(^2\) with Alcibiades seated in her arms; whereat the people were delighted, and ran in crowds to see the picture. But the elders were indignant at this too; they said it smacked of tyranny and lawlessness. And it would seem that Archestratus, in his verdict on the painting, did not go wide of the mark when he said that Hellas could not endure more than one Alcibiades.

* Timon the misanthrope once saw Alcibiades, after a successful day, being publicly escorted home from the assembly. He did not pass him by nor avoid him, as his custom was with others, but met him and greeted him, saying: “It’s well you’re growing so, my child; you’ll grow big enough to ruin all this rabble.” At this some laughed, and some railed, and some gave much heed to the saying. So undecided was public opinion about Alcibiades, by reason of the unevenness of his nature.

XVII. On Sicily the Athenians had cast longing

\(^1\) In the summer of 416. Cf. Thuc. v. 116, 2–4.
\(^2\) A personification of the district of Nemea, in the games of which Alcibiades had been victorious. Cf. Pausanias, i. 22, 7, with Frazer’s notes.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΗΓΔΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΟ ΗΠΤΟΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑΣ ΒΟΣΘΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑΣ ΕΠΕΜΠΟΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΔΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΥΠΟ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΘΑΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΙΞΟΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΤΙ-2 ΘΕΝΤΕΣ. Ο ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΑΠΑΣΙ ΤΟΝ ΕΡΩΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΦΛΕΞΑ ΑΥΤΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΙΣΑΣ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΜΗΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΚΡΟΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΟ ΣΤΟΛΩ ΠΛΕΥ-ΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΕΦΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΗΣΟΝ, 'ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΙΔΗΣ ΗΝ, ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ΠΕΙΣΑΣ ΕΛΠΙΖΕΙΝ, ΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΜΕΙΞΟΝΟΝ ΘΡΕΓΟΜΕΝΟ. ΆΡΧΗΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΠΡΟΣ ΑΙ ΗΛΠΙΚΕΙ, ΔΙΕΝΟΕΙΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ, 3 ΟΥ ΤΕΛΟΣ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΙ ΛΟΙΠΟΙ, ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΝ. ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΙΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΩΣ ΧΑΛΕΠΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΟΝ ΤΑΣ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ ΕΛΕΙΝ ΑΠΕΤΡΕΠΕ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ, 'ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΙΔΗΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΒΥΝΗ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΠΟΛΩΝ, ΕΚ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ-ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ 'ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΛΟΠΩΝΝΗΣΟΝ ΗΔΗ ΠΕΡΙ- ΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ΟΛΙΓΟΝ ΔΕΙΝ ΕΦΟΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙΤΟ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΒΕΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΘΕΝ ΕΙΧΕΝ ΗΔΗ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΛΠΙΣΙΝ ΕΠΙΡΜΕΝΟΥΣ, ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΡΕΣ- ΒΥΤΕΡΩΝ ΗΚΡΟΩΝΤΟ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΑΙΝΟΝΤΩΝ, ΩΣΤΕ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΡΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΜΙΚΥΚΛΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΘΕΞΕΘΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΕ ΒΗΣΟΝ ΤΟ ΣΧΗΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΣΙΝ ΔΙΒΥΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΟΣ ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΑΣ.

4 ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΩΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΛΠΙΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΝ ΑΠΤΩ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΗΣ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ, Ο ΜΕΝ, ΩΣ ΕΟΙΚΕ, ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΗΘΟΥΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ALCIBIADES

eyes even while Pericles was living; and after his death they actually tried to lay hands upon it. The lesser expeditions which they sent thither from time to time, ostensibly for the aid and comfort of their allies on the island who were being wronged by the Syracusans, they regarded merely as stepping stones to the greater expedition of conquest. But the man who finally fanned this desire of theirs into flame, and persuaded them not to attempt the island any more in part and little by little, but to sail thither with a great armament and subdue it utterly, was Alcibiades; he persuaded the people to have great hopes, and he himself had greater aspirations still. Such were his hopes that he regarded Sicily as a mere beginning, and not, like the rest, as an end of the expedition. So while Nicias was trying to divert the people from the capture of Syracuse as an undertaking too difficult for them, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and Libya, and, after winning these, of at once encompassing Italy and Peloponnesus. He almost regarded Sicily as the ways and means provided for his greater war. The young men were at once carried away on the wings of such hopes, and their elders kept recounting in their ears many wonderful things about the projected expedition. Many were they who sat in the palaestras and lounging-places mapping out in the sand the shape of Sicily and the position of Libya and Carthage.¹

Socrates the philosopher, however, and Meton the astrologer, are said to have had no hopes that any good would come to the city from this expedition; Socrates, as it is likely, because he got an inkling of

¹ Cf. Nicias, xii. 1–2.
προσημαίνοντος, ὁ δὲ Μέτων εἴτε δείσας ἐκ λογισμοῦ τὸ μέλλον εἴτε μαντικῆς τινὶ τρόπῳ χρήσαμενος ἐσκήψατο μεμηνέναι, καὶ λαβὼν δὲ δὲ καιομένην ὅδος ἢν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάπτειν. 5 ἔνιοι δὲ φασί προσποίημα μὲν μανίας μηδὲν ἐσκευάσθαι τὸν Μέτωνα, καταπρῆσας δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν νύκτωρ, εἰθ’ ἐσθεν προελθόντα δείσθαι καὶ ἀντιβολεῖν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικάυτη τὸν ὕδων αὐτῷ παρεθήναι τῆς στρατείας. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἔτυχεν ὃν ἤξιον, παρακρουσάμενος τοὺς πολίτας.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἄκων μὲν ἴρεθῇ στρατηγός, οὐχ ἰκιστὰ τὴν ἄρχην καὶ διὰ τὸν συνάρχοντα φεύγων ἐφαύνετο γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὰ τοῦ πολέμου βέλτιον ἐξειν μὴ προεμένοις τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἄκρατον, ἀλλὰ μιχθείσης πρὸς τὴν τὸλμαν αὐτοῦ τῆς Νικίου προνοίασι καὶ γὰρ ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς Λάμαχος ἥλικια προήκων ὃμως ἐδόκει μηδὲν ἦττον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διὰ-καὶ, φιλοκίνδυνον εὖ τοῖς ἀγώσιν. βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ πλήθους καὶ τρόπου παρασκευῆς ἐπεχείρησεν αὕτης ὁ Νικίας ἐνίστασθαι καὶ καταπαύειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἀντεπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδον καὶ κρατήσαντος, ἔγραψε τῶν ῥητόρων Δημόστρατος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρῆ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντός.

Ἐπιψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ γενομένων ἐτοίμων πάντων πρὸς τὸν ἐκπλουν, οὐ χρηστὰ
the future from the divine guide who was his familiar. Meton—whether his fear of the future arose from mere calculation or from his use of some sort of divination—hear madness, and seizing a blazing torch, was like to have set fire to his own house. Some say, however, that Meton made no pretence of madness, but actually did burn his house down in the night, and then, in the morning, came before the people begging and praying that, in view of his great calamity, his son might be released from the expedition. At any rate, he succeeded in cheating his fellow citizens, and obtained his desire.  

XVIII. Nicias was elected general against his will, and he was anxious to avoid the command most of all because of his fellow commander. For it had seemed to the Athenians that the war would go on better if they did not send out Alcibiades unblended, but rather tempered his rash daring with the prudent forethought of Nicias. As for the third general, Lamachus, though advanced in years, he was thought, age notwithstanding, to be no less fiery than Alcibiades, and quite as fond of taking risks in battle. During the deliberations of the people on the extent and character of the armament, Nicias again tried to oppose their wishes and put a stop to the war. But Alcibiades answered all his arguments and carried the day, and then Demostratus, the orator, formally moved that the generals have full and independent powers in the matter of the armament and of the whole war.  

After the people had adopted this motion and all things were made ready for the departure of the fleet, there were some unpropitious signs and portents,

1 Cf. Nicias, xiii. 5-6.  
2 Cf. Nicius, xii. 3-4.
3 παρὴν οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς. Ἄδωνίων γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηκόντων εἰδωλα τολμαχοῦνε νεκροῖς ἐκκομιζόμενοι ὁμοία προῦκειντο ταῖς γυναιξί, καὶ ταφὰς ἐμιμοῦντο κοπτόμεναι, καὶ θρήνους ἦδον. ἡ μέντοι τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπῆ, μιὰ νυκτὶ τῶν πλείστων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων τὰ πρόσωπα, πόλλοις καὶ τῶν περιφερονούντων τὰ τοιαύτα διετάραξεν. ἐλέεθη μὲν οὖν ὁτι Κορίνθιοι διὰ τοὺς Συρακούσιος ἀποίκους ὄντας, ως ἐπισχέσεως ἐσομένης πρὸς τῶν οἰωνῶν ἡ μετα-

4 γνώσεως τοῦ πολέμου, ταῦτα δράσειαν. οὐ μὴν ἦπτετό γε τῶν πολλῶν ὡτὲ ὅτους ὁ λόγος ὡτὸ ὁ τῶν σημείων δεινῶν εἶναι μηδὲν οἰομένου, ἀλλ’ οἷα φιλεῖ φέρειν ἀκρατος ἀκόλαστων νέων εἰς ύβριν ἐκ παιδίας ὑποφερομένων· ὅργῃ δ’ ἄμα καὶ φόβῳ τὸ γεγονὸς λαμβάνοντες ως ἀπὸ συνωμοσίας ἑπὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις τετολμημένου, ἀπασαν ἐξή-

XIX. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δούλους τινᾶς καὶ μετοίκους προήγαγεν Ἀνδροκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἄλλων τε ἀγαλμάτων περικοπᾶς καὶ μυστηρίων παρ’ οἶνον ἀπομιμήσεις τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν φίλων κατηγορούντας. ἔλεγεν δὲ Θεόδωρον μὲν τινὰ δρᾶν τὰ τοῦ κήρυκος, Πολυτίωνα δὲ τὰ τοῦ δαδούχων, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδη, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἑταίρους παρεῖναι καὶ μυεῖσθαι

2 μύστας προσαγορευμένους. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ
especially in connection with the festival, namely, the Adonia. This fell at that time, and little images like dead folk carried forth to burial were in many places exposed to view by the women, who mimicked burial rites, beat their breasts, and sang dirges. Moreover, the mutilation of the Hermae, most of which, in a single night, had their faces and forms disfigured, confounded the hearts of many, even among those who usually set small store by such things. It was said, it is true, that Corinthians had done the deed, Syracuse being a colony of theirs, in the hope that such portents would check or stop the war. The multitude, however, were not moved by this reasoning, nor by that of those who thought the affair no terrible sign at all, but rather one of the common effects of strong wine, when dissolute youth, in mere sport, are carried away into wanton acts. They looked on the occurrence with wrath and fear, thinking it the sign of a bold and dangerous conspiracy. They therefore scrutinized keenly every suspicious circumstance, the council and the assembly convening for this purpose many times within a few days.

XIX. During this time Androcles, the popular leader, produced sundry aliens and slaves who accused Alcibiades and his friends of mutilating other sacred images, and of making a parody of the mysteries of Eleusis in a drunken revel. They said that one Theodorus played the part of the Herald, Pultyon that of the Torch-bearer, and Alcibiades that of the High Priest, and that the rest of his companions were there in the rôle of initiates, and were dubbed Mystae. Such indeed was the purport

1 Cf. Nicias, xiii. 2, 7.
εἰσαγγελία γέγραπται Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Κύμωνος εἰσαγγελίαντος Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀσβεῖν περὶ τῶν θεῶν, τραχυνομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πικρώς πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐχοντος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους (ὅπως γὰρ οὗτος ἐξήρις ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου) παροξύνοντος, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἔτα-

3 ράχθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς τε ναύτας, ὅσοι πλεῖν ἔμελλον εἰς Σικελίαν, εὕνους ὄντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ στρατιω-

tικὸν, Ἀργείων δὲ καὶ Μαντινεῶν χιλίων οὐτῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀκούοντες ἀναφανδὸν λεγοντον ὡς δι᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατεύοντο διαπόντιον καὶ μακρὰν στρατείαν, ἔδω τὸς ἀγωμοί ὑπὲρ τοῦτον, εὐθὺς ἀποστῆσατο, ἀνεθάρρυνε καὶ παριστάντο τῷ καρυῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πάλιν ἄθυμειν καὶ φοβεῖσαι μὴ περὶ τὴν κρίσιν ὁ δήμος ἀμβλυὸτερος αὐτῷ γένηται διὰ τὴν χρείαν.

4 Πρὸς ταύτ᾽ οὖν τεχνάζουσι τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς οὐ δικαοῦνται ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, μισοῦντας δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὕπτον τῶν ὀμολογούντων, ἀνιστα-

méνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λέγειν ὡς ἀποτόμοι ἐστὶν αὐτοκράτορι στρατηγῷ τηλικαύτῃ ἀποδεδειγ-
méνῳ δυνάμεως, ἡθοποιοῦσας στρατιάς καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, μεταξὺ κληροῦντας δικαστήριων καὶ ὑδωρ διαμετροῦντας ἀπολλύναι τὸν καριόν.

“Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἀγαθῇ τῇ πλείω, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου διαπραχθέντος ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀπολογείσθω παρών.” οὐκ ἔλανθανε μὲν οὖν ἢ κακοήθεια τῆς ἀναβολῆς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἄλλ᾽ ἔλεγε παριῶν ὡς δεινὸν ἐστὶν αἰτίας ἀπο-
of the impeachment which Thessalus, the son of Cimon, brought in to the assembly, impeaching Alcibiades for impiety towards the Eleusinian goddesses. The people were exasperated, and felt bitterly towards Alcibiades, and Androcles, who was his mortal enemy, egged them on. At first Alcibiades was confounded. But perceiving that all the seamen and soldiers who were going to sail for Sicily were friendly to him, and hearing that the Argive and Mantinean men-at-arms, a thousand in number, declared plainly that it was all because of Alcibiades that they were making their long expedition across the seas, and that if any wrong should be done him they would at once abandon it, he took courage, and insisted on an immediate opportunity to defend himself before the people. His enemies were now in their turn dejected; they feared lest the people should be too lenient in their judgement of him because they needed him so much.

Accordingly, they devised that certain orators who were not looked upon as enemies of Alcibiades, but who really hated him no less than his avowed foes, should rise in the assembly and say that it was absurd, when a general had been appointed, with full powers, over such a vast force, and when his armament and allies were all assembled, to destroy his beckoning opportunity by casting lots for jurors and measuring out time for the case. "Nay," they said, "let him sail now, and Heaven be with him! But when the war is over, then let him come and make his defence. The laws will be the same then as now." Of course the malice in this postponement did not escape Alcibiades. He declared in the assembly that it was a terrible misfortune to be sent off at the
λιπόντα καθ’ εαυτοῦ καὶ διαβολάς ἐκπέμπεσθαι μετέωρον ἐπὶ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως· ἀποθανεὶν γὰρ προσήκειν μὴ λύσαντι τὰς κατηγορίας, λύσαντι δὲ καὶ φανέντι καθαρῷ τρέπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δεδοικότι τοὺς συκοφάντας.

ΧΧ. 'Εσεὶ δ’ οὖκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ πλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτόν, ἀνήχθη μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων ἑχοῦ τριήρεις μὲν οὐ πολλῷ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ἀποδεούσας, ὀπλίτας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἐκατόν, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφειδονήτας καὶ ψιλούς περὶ τριακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν παρασκευήν ἀξιόλογον. προσβαλών δ’ Ἰταλία καὶ Ῥήγιον ἐλών, εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην ὅτε τρόπῳ πολεμήσῃ ἔστι. καὶ Νικίου μὲν ἀντιλέγοντος, Δαμάχου δὲ προσθεμένου, πλεύσας εἰς Σικελίαν προσηγάγετο Κατάννην, ἀλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἔπραξε μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν εὐθὺς γενόμενος.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ὅσπερ εἰρηται, ψυχραῖ τινες ὑποψίαι καὶ διαβολαὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου προσέπιπτον ἀπὸ δούλων καὶ μετοίκων· ἔπειτα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ καθαπτομένων σφοδρότερον, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς ὑβρίσμασι καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ συμπλεκόντων, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ συνωμοσίας πεπραγμένα, τοὺς μὲν ὑπωσοῦν ἐπαιτιαθέντας ἐνέβαλλον ἀκρίτους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἥχοντο δὲ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην μὴ λαβόντες ὑπὸ τὰς ψήφους τότε μηδὲ κρίνανη.
head of such a vast force with his case still in suspense, leaving behind him vague accusations and slanders; he ought to be put to death if he did not refute them; but if he did refute them and prove his innocence, he ought to proceed against the enemy without any fear of the public informers at home.

XX. He could not carry his point, however, but was ordered to set sail. So he put to sea ¹ along with his fellow generals, having not much fewer than one hundred and forty triremes; fifty-one hundred men-at-arms; about thirteen hundred archers, slingers, and light-armed folk; and the rest of his equipment to correspond. On reaching Italy and taking Rhegium, he proposed a plan for the conduct of the war.² Nicia opposed it, but Lamachus approved it, and so he sailed to Sicily. He secured the allegiance of Catana, but accomplished nothing further, since he was presently summoned home by the Athenians to stand his trial.

At first, as I have said,³ sundry vague suspicions and calumnies against Alcibiades were advanced by aliens and slaves. Afterwards, during his absence, his enemies went to work more vigorously. They brought the outrage upon the Hermae and upon the Eleusinian mysteries under one and the same design; both, they said, were fruits of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and so all who were accused of any complicity whatsoever therein were cast into prison without trial. The people were provoked with themselves for not bringing Alcibiades to trial and judgment at the time on such grave charges,

¹ About the middle of the summer of 415 B.C.
² Cf. Nicia, xiv. 3. ³ Chapter xix. 1.
4 
tes ἐπ' αἰτίαις τηλικαύταις. ὁ δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνου ὅργῃ παραπεσὼν οἴκείος ὢ φίλος ὡς 
συνήθης χαλεπωτέρως αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο. τοὺς 
dὲ μηνύσαντας ὦ μὲν Θουκυδίδης ὤνομάσαι 
παρῆκεν, ἀλλοι δ' ὄνομάξουσί Διοκλείδαν καὶ 
Τεύκρον, ὃν καὶ Φρύνιχος ἔστιν ὦ κωμικὸς ταὐτὶ 
πεποιηκὼς:

'Ω φίλταθ' Ἐρμή, καὶ φυλάσσου, μὴ πεσὼν 
αὐτὸν παρακρούσῃ καὶ παράσχῃς διαβολὴν 
ἐτέρῳ Διοκλείδᾳ βούλομένῳ κακόν τι δρᾶν.

καὶ:

Φυλάξομαι. Τεύκρῳ γὰρ οὐχὶ βούλομαι 
μὴνυτα χαίται, τῷ παλαμναίῳ ξένῳ.

5 
Καίτοι βέβαιον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἰσχυρὸν οἱ μηνύοντες 
ἐδείκνυσαν. εἰς δ' αὐτῶν ἐρωτώμενος ὅπως τὰ 
πρόσωπα τῶν Ἐρμοκοπτίδων γνωρίσειε, καὶ 
ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, ἐσφάλη 
τοῦ παντός, ἐνης καὶ νέας οὕςδας οὕτε ταῦτ' ἐδράτος: 
δὲ ὁ ὄρωμον μὲν παρέσχε τοῖς νοοὺ ἔχουσι, τὸν 
δήμον δ' οὖδε τοῦτο μαλακότερον ἐποίησε πρὸς 
tὰς διαβολὰς, ἀλλ' ὀστερ ὀρμῆσεν εὖ ἀρχῆς, οὐκ 
ἐπαύσατο φέρων καὶ ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸ δεσμωτηρίων 
οὐ τὰς κατείπτω.

XXI. Τῶν οὖν δεθέντων καὶ φυλαττομένων ἐπὶ 
κρίσει τότε καὶ Ἁνδοκίδης ἦν ο ῥήτωρ, ὧν 
Ἑλλάνικος ὁ συγγραφεύς εἰς τοὺς Ὀδυσσέως 
ἀπογόνους ἀνήγαγεν. ἐδόκει δὲ μισόδημος καὶ 
ὁλγαρχικὸς ὦ Ἁνδοκίδης, ὑποτοῦν δὲ οὐχ

1 ὥ supplied by Coraës and Sint.; Bekker supplies καὶ, 
after Bryan.

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and any kinsman or friend or comrade of his who fell foul of their wrath against him, found them exceedingly severe. Thucydides neglected to mention the informers by name, but others give their names as Diocleides and Teucer. For instance, Phrynichus the comic poet referred to them thus:

"Look out too, dearest Hermes, not to get a fall,
And mar your looks, and so equip with calumny
Another Diocleides bent on wreaking harm."

And the Hermes replies:

"I'm on the watch; there's Teucer, too; I would not give
A prize for tattling to an alien of his guilt."

And yet there was nothing sure or steadfast in the statements of the informers. One of them, indeed, was asked how he recognized the faces of the Hermae-defacers, and replied, "By the light of the moon." This vitiated his whole story, since there was no moon at all when the deed was done. Sensible men were troubled thereat, but even this did not soften the people's feeling towards the slanderous stories. As they had set out to do in the beginning, so they continued, haling and casting into prison any one who was denounced.

XXI. Among those thus held in bonds and imprisonment for trial was Andocides the orator, whom Hellanicus the historian included among the descendants of Odysseus. He was held to be a foe to popular government, and an oligarch, but what most made him suspected of the mutilation of the

1 In vi. 53, 2 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 385.
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ἡκιστα της των Ἐρμών περικοπής ἐποίησεν ὁ μέγας Ἐρμής, ὁ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίας 2 ἀνάθημα τῆς Αιγηίδου φυλῆς ἱδρυμένος· ἐν γὰρ ὀλίγοις πάνυ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν μόνος σχεδὸν ἀκέραιος ἔμεινε· διὸ καὶ νῦν Ἄνδοκίδου καλεῖται, καὶ πάντες οὕτως ὄνομάζουσι τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντιμαρτυροῦσης.

Συνέβη δὲ τῷ Ἄνδοκίδῃ μάλιστα τῶν τήν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἐχόντων ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ γενέσθαι συνήθησαν καὶ φίλου ἐνδόξου μὲν ὁὐχ ὀμοίως ἐκεῖνος, συνέσει δὲ καὶ τόλμη περιττῶν, ὄνομα Τίμαιον.

3 οὕτως ἀναπείθει τοῦ Ἄνδοκίδην ἕαυτοῦ κατήγορον καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων γενέσθαι μὴ πολλῶν ἐμολογήσαντι γὰρ ἀδειαν εἶναι κατὰ ψηφισμα τοῦ δήμου, τὰ δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἀδηλα πάσι, τοῖς δὲ δυνατοῖς φοβερωτάτα: βέλτιον δὲ σωθῆναι ψευδόμενον ἢ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας ἀποθανεῖν ἀδόξως, καὶ τὸ κοινὴ σκοποῦντι συμφέρον ὑπάρχειν, ὀλίγους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους προέμενον, πολλῶν 4 καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐξελέσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς. ταῦτα τοῦ Τίμαιον λέγοντος καὶ διδάσκοντος ὁ Ἄνδοκίδης ἐπείσθη, καὶ γενόμενοι μηνυτής καθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καθ' ἑτέρων ἐσχε τῆν ἑκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἄδειαν αὐτοῦ: οὐς δὲ ὀνόμασε πάντες πλὴν τῶν φυγών- των ἀπώλοντο. καὶ πίστεως ἑνεκα προσέθηκεν αὐτοῖς οἰκέταις ἰδίους ὁ Ἄνδοκίδης.

5 Οὐ μὴν ὁ γε δῆμος τῆν ὀργήν ἀπασαν ἀφήκειν

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Hermæ, was the tall Hermes which stood near his house, a dedication of the Aegeid tribe. This was almost the only one among the very few statues of like prominence to remain unharmed. For this reason it is called to this day the Hermes of Andocides. Everybody gives it that name, in spite of the adverse testimony of its inscription.

Now it happened that, of all those lying in prison with him under the same charge, Andocides became most intimate and friendly with a man named Timaeus, of less repute than himself; it is true, but of great sagacity and daring. This man persuaded Andocides to turn state’s evidence against himself and a few others. If he confessed,—so the man argued,—he would have immunity from punishment by decree of the people; whereas the result of the trial, while uncertain in all cases, was most to be dreaded in that of influential men like himself. It was better to save his life by a false confession of crime, than to die a shameful death under a false charge of that crime. One who had an eye to the general welfare of the community might well abandon to their fate a few dubious characters, if he could thereby save a multitude of good men from the wrath of the people. By such arguments of Timaeus, Andocides was at last persuaded to bear witness against himself and others. He himself received the immunity from punishment which had been decreed; but all those whom he named, excepting such as took to flight, were put to death, and Andocides added to their number some of his own household servants, that he might the better be believed.

Still, the people did not lay aside all their wrath
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ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῶν Ἐρμοκοπιδῶν οὐσπερ σχολάζοντι τῷ θυμῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὅλος ἔρρυθα, καὶ τέλος ἀπέστειλε τὴν Σαλαμίνιαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν,1 οὐ φαύλως αὐτὸ γε τούτο προστάξας, μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδ’ ἀπτεσθαι τοῦ σῶματος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μετρίῳ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι κελεύοντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐπὶ κρίσιν καὶ πείθειν τὸν 6 δήμον. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ ταραχὰς τοῦ στρατευματος ἐν πολεμίᾳ γῇ καὶ στάσιν, ὡς ἁρδίως ἄν ἐξειργάσατο βουλήθεις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης. καὶ γὰρ ἡθύμοις ἄπιόντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὴν τρεῖθην προσεδόκων καὶ μῆκος ἄργον ἐν τῷ Νικίᾳ τὸν πόλεμον ἔξειν, καθάπερ μύσπος ἀφηρημένον τῶν πράξεων. ὁ γὰρ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν πολεμικὸς καὶ ἀνδρῶδης, ἀξίωμα δ’ οὐ προσῆν οὐδ’ ὅγκος αὐτῷ διὰ πενίαν.

XXII. Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἀποτλέων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης αφείλετο Μεσσήνην Ἀθηναίους. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ μέλλοντες ἐνδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν, οὕς ἐκείνως εἰδὼς σαφεστάτα τοὺς Συρακουσίων φίλοις ἐμὴνυσε καὶ διέφθειρε τὴν πράξιν. ἐν δὲ Θουρίοις γενόμενος καὶ ἀποβάς τῆς τρίήρους ἔκρυψεν ἐαυτὸν καὶ 2 διέφυγε τοὺς ζητοῦντας. ἐπιγυνόντος δὲ τινος καὶ εἰπόντος: "Οὐ πιστεύεις, ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, τῇ πατρίδι;" “Τὰ μὲν ἄλλ᾽,” ἔφη, “πάντα· περὶ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς οὐδὲ τῇ μητρὶ, μῆπως ἀγνωσσα τὴν μέλαναν ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς ἐπενέγκη

1 ἐπ’ αὐτὸν with Ma and Cobet: πρὸς αὐτὸν.
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at this point, but rather, now that they were done
with the Hermae-defacers, as if their passion had
all the more opportunity to vent itself, they dashed
like a torrent against Alcibiades, and finally dis-
patched the Salaminian state-galley to fetch him
home. They shrewdly gave its officers explicit
command not to use violence, nor to seize his person,
but with all moderation of speech to bid him accom-
pany them home to stand his trial and satisfy the
people. For they were afraid that their army, in an
enemy's land, would be full of tumult and mutiny
at the summons. And Alcibiades might easily have
effected this had he wished. For the men were
cast down at his departure, and expected that the
war, under the conduct of Nicias, would be drawn
out to a great length by delays and inactivity, now
that their goad to action had been taken away.
Lamachus, it is true, was a good soldier and a brave
man; but he lacked authority and prestige because
he was poor.

XXII. Alcibiades had no sooner sailed away than
he robbed the Athenians of Messana.¹ There was a
party there who were on the point of surrendering
the city to the Athenians, but Alcibiades knew them,
and gave the clearest information of their design to
the friends of Syracuse in the city, and so brought
the thing to naught. Arrived at Thurii, he left his
trireme and hid himself so as to escape all quest.
When some one recognised him and asked, "Can
you not trust your country, Alcibiades?" "In all
else," he said, "but in the matter of life I wouldn't
trust even my own mother not to mistake a black
for a white ballot when she cast her vote." And

¹ In September, 415 B.C.
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3 Τῇν μὲν οὖν εἰσαγγελίαν οὕτως ἔχουσαν ἀναγράφουσι: "Ἰωσσαλῶς Κίμωνος Ἀλκιβιάδης Ἀλκιβιάδην Κλεινίου Σκαμβωνίδην εἰσήγησεν ἀδικεῖν περὶ τὸ θεόν, τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ τὴν Κόρην, ἀπομμούμενον τὰ μυστήρια καὶ δεικνύοντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἑταῖροις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἔχουσα στολήν οὐαντπερ ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἔχων δεικνύει τὰ ἱερά, καὶ ὄνομάζοντα αὐτὸν μὲν ἱεροφάντην, Πολυτέονον δὲ δαδούχον, κήρυκα δὲ Θεόδωρον Ψηφαῖα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἑταῖρους μύστας προσαγορεύοντα καὶ ἑποίτησαν παρὰ τὰ νόμμα τα καθεστηκότα ὑπὸ τήν Ἑὐμολπίδου καὶ Κηρύκων

4 καὶ τῶν ἱερεῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνων." ἐβῆμην δ' αὐτοῦ καταγγόντες καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημεύσαντες ἐτι καταράσσα τροσεύησαντο πάντας ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερείας, ὅπως λόγον ἔχων Θεοκρὶ τὴν Μένωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν ἀντιπεῖν πρὸς τῷ ψήφισμα, χάσινον συγχρόνων, οὐ καταρακῶν ἱερείας γεγονεῖν.

XXIII. Τοσοῦτοι δὲ κατευθυνομένοι Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ κατεγνωσμένων, ἐτύγχανε μὲν εἰς Ἀρχαγια διατρίβων, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ Θουρίων ἡ πολύν 203 ἀπόδρας εἰς Πελοπόννησον διεκομόθη, φοβοῦμεν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ παντάπασι τῆς πατρίδος ἀπεργοκοις ἑπεμψε πρὸς Σπαρτίον, ἄδων ἄδειαν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ πίστιν ἐπὶ μείζονι χρέαις καὶ ὠφελείας ὄν πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἄμοινο-2 μενος ἔβλαβε. δόρτων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτίατῶν καὶ

1 ὁ ἱεροφάντης with CM: ἱεροφάντης.
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when he afterwards heard that the city had condemned him to death, "I'll show them," he said, "that I'm alive."

His impeachment is on record, and runs as follows: "Thessalus, son of Cimon, of the deme Laciadae, impeaches Alcibiades, son of Cleinias, of the deme Scambonidae, for committing crime against the goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and Cora, by mimicking the mysteries and showing them forth to his companions in his own house, wearing a robe such as the High Priest wears when he shows forth the sacred secrets to the initiates, and calling himself High Priest, Pulytion Torch-bearer, and Theodorus, of the deme Phegæa, Herald, and hailing the rest of his companions as Mystae and Epoptae, contrary to the laws and institutions of the Eumolpidæ, Heralds, and Priests of Eleusis." His case went by default, his property was confiscated, and besides that, it was also decreed that his name should be publicly cursed by all priests and priestesses. Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the deme Agraule, they say, was the only one who refused to obey this decree. She declared that she was a praying, not a cursing priestess.

XXIII. When these great judgments and condemnations were passed upon Alcibiades, he was tarrying in Argos, for as soon as he had made his escape from Thurii, he passed over into Peloponnesus. But fearing his foes there, and renouncing his country altogether, he sent to the Spartans, demanding immunity and confidence, and promising to render them aid and service greater than all the harm he had previously done them as an enemy. The Spartans granted this request and received him
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dexaménon, paragewnómenvos prothymwos ev mé ev thn
exeirghásto, plhountas kai anaballoménous
bothénivn Syrapousoivn égeiras kai parožvna
pémpai Gýlipttvn arhontdv kai thraásia tivn ékei
tón ’Athenaíon dwumiv éteron dé, kineiv ton
autóthn polémov épi tvn ’Athenaíouc tó dé
tróton kai mégyontov, épiteixhísa Dekéléian, ou
mállon ouvéen dieirghásto kai katouikóforhse
thn polyn.

3 Eúdokimów dé dhmosía kai thvmmazómenvos oukh
htovn idia tov pollyov katêdmagógei kai kat-
egóíteue th diátivn lakwvzev, òsthv óróntas ev
chrh kouriówta kai phvkrholovntta kai mázé
svónatva kai xwmó mélanai chrómewn ápistéteiv kai
diaporeiv, ei potè mágyeron épi ths oikias outhos
ánwr eschév ò prosoéblhse myrèvov h Milèsias
4 hnvovcheto thvveiv xlahidov. òn gár, ós fasir, mia
déinótis aúth tivn pollywn ev autó kai mhcanh
thras anbropov, svnefomouvsbhsai kai svymo-
pasteiv tois épitideúmasi kai tais diátais,
òxuvras trpomévpor tropas tov xamaléontos.
plhn ékeivos mén, òs légetai, prós ev éxadunäté
chrwma to lenkovv áforomoiouv eautón ’Alkibiádv
dé dia chróstovv íonti kai povnrovs ómowv ouvdén
5 òn ámbimtovn ouv’ ánepitíšdentov, all’ ev Sártov
gymnástikos, éutelhs, skuvrwpós, ev ’Iovia xli-

1 A mountain citadel of Attica, about fourteen miles from
Athens towards Boeotia, commanding the Athenian plain
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among them. No sooner was he come than he zealously brought one thing to pass: they had been delaying and postponing assistance to Syracuse; he roused and incited them to send Gylippus thither for a commander, and to crush the force which Athens had there. A second thing he did was to get them to stir up the war against Athens at home; and the third, and most important of all, to induce them to fortify Deceleia.¹ This more than anything else wrought ruin and destruction to his native city.

At Sparta, he was held in high repute publicly, and privately was no less admired. The multitude was brought under his influence, and was actually bewitched, by his assumption of the Spartan mode of life. When they saw him with his hair untrimmed, taking cold baths, on terms of intimacy with their coarse bread, and supping black porridge, they could scarcely trust their eyes, and doubted whether such a man as he now was had ever had a cook in his own house, had even so much as looked upon a perfumer, or endured the touch of Milesian wool. He had, as they say, one power which transcended all others, and proved an implement of his chase for men: that of assimilating and adapting himself to the pursuits and lives of others, thereby assuming more violent changes than the chameleon. That animal, however, as it is said, is utterly unable to assume one colour, namely, white; but Alcibiades could associate with good and bad alike, and found naught that he could not imitate and practice. In Sparta, he was all for bodily training, simplicity of life, and severity of countenance; in Ionia, for

and the shortest routes to Eubœa and Boeotia. It was occupied by the Spartans in the spring of 413 B.C.
δανός, ἐπιτερπής, ῥάθυμος, ἐν Θράκη μεθυστικός, ἐν Θετταλοῖς ἰππαστικός. Τισαφέρνη δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ συνὼν ὑπερέβαλεν ὄγκῳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τὴν Περσικὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, οὐχ αὐτὸν ἔξεστας οὔτω ῥάθυμος εἰς ἑτέρων ἐξ ἑτέρων τρόπον, οὔτε πᾶσαν δεχόμενος τῷ ἥθει μεταβολὴν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τῇ φύσει χρώμενος ἔμελλε λυπεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, εἰς πᾶν ἀεὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκεῖνοις σχῆμα καὶ πλάσμα κατεδύετο καὶ κατέφευγεν. ἐν γούν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξωθεν ἦν εἰπεῖν. "Ὅποι παῖς Ἀχιλλεώς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος" εἶχ ἂν "αὐτὸς," ὅπως Δυ-κοῦργος ἐπαίδευσε" τοῖς δ᾽ ἀληθινοῖς ἄν τις ἐπε-φώνησεν αὐτὸν πάθει καὶ πράγμασιν. ""Εστίν ἢ πάλαι γυνή." 

7 Ὁμαίαν γὰρ τὴν Ἀγιάδος γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως στρατευόμενον καὶ ἀποδημοῦντος οὔτω διέφθειρεν ὡστε καὶ κύουν ἐξ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ μὴ ἄρνεοντος καὶ ὑποστήθαι, καὶ τεκοὺσης παιδάριον ἀρρεν ἐξω μὲν Δεωτυχὶ- δην καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δ᾽ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ ψυχυριζόμενον ὄνομα πρὸς τὰς φίλας καὶ τὰς ὀπάδους ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην εἶναι: τοσοῦτος ἔρως κατείχε τὴν ἀνθρώπων. ό δ᾽ ἐντυφών ἔλεγεν οὕτω ὑβρεί τοῦτο πράττειν οὔτε κρατοῦμενος ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως Δακεδαίμονίων βασιλεύσωσιν οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότες. οὔτω πραττόμενα ταῦτα πολ- λοὶ κατηγόρουν πρὸς τὸν Ἀγιν. ἐπίστευσε δὲ

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1 The first part of the passage in quotation marks is an adaptation of an iambic trimeter by some unknown poet.
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luxurious ease and pleasure; in Thrace, for drinking deep; in Thessaly, for riding hard; and when he was thrown with Tissaphernes the satrap, he outdid even Persian magnificence in his pomp and lavishness. It was not that he could so easily pass entirely from one manner of man to another, nor that he actually underwent in every case a change in his real character; but when he saw that his natural manners were likely to be annoying to his associates, he was quick to assume any counterfeit exterior which might in each case be suitable for them. At all events, in Sparta, so far as the outside was concerned, it was possible to say of him, "'No child of Achilles he, but Achilles himself,' such a man as Lycurgus trained"; but judging by what he actually felt and did, one might have cried with the poet, "'Tis the selfsame woman still!"

For while Agis the king was away on his campaigns, Alcibiades corrupted Timaea his wife, so that she was with child by him and made no denial of it. When she had given birth to a male child, it was called Leotychides in public, but in private the name which the boy's mother whispered to her friends and attendants was Alcibiades. Such was the passion that possessed the woman. But he, in his mocking way, said he had not done this thing for a wanton insult, nor at the behest of mere pleasure, but in order that descendants of his might be kings of the Lacedaemonians. Such being the state of things, there were many to tell the tale to Agis, and he believed it, more especially owing to the lapse of time.


2 Electra, of Helen, in Euripides, Orestes, 129.
τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα, ὦτι σεισμοῦ γενομένου φοβηθείς ἐξέδραμε τοῦ θαλάμου παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἔτα δέκα μηνῶν οὐκέτι συνήλθεν αὐτῇ, μεθ’ οὖς γενόμενον τὸν Δεσβιδῆν ἀπέφησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσεν ὑστερον ὁ Δεσβιδής.

XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυντυχίαν ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Σπάρτην ἀμα Χίοι καὶ Δέσβιοι καὶ Κυζικηνὸι περὶ ἀποστάσεως. πραττόντων δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν Δεσβίοις, Φαρμαβάζου δὲ Κυζικηνοῖς, Ἀλκιβιάδη πεισθέντες εἰλοντο Χίοις πρὸ πάντων βοηθεῖν. ἐκπλεύσας δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησεν ὁ λύγος δεῖν ἅπασαν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ πολλὰ συνών τοῖς τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων στρατηγοῖς ἐξελάπτη τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

2 ὅδ’ Ἀγιας ἐχθρὸς μὲν ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα κακῶς πεπονθός, ἥχετο δὲ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τὰ γὰρ πλείστα γίνεσθαι καὶ προχωρεῖν δι’ Ἀλκιβιάδην λόγος ἢ ν τῶν δ’ ἄλλων Σπάρτητων οἱ δυνατώτατοι καὶ πιλοτιμότατοι τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἥδη ἐβαρύνοντο διὰ φθόνον. ἵσχυσαν οὖν καὶ διεπράζαντο τοὺς οὐκοθέν ἄρχοντας ἑπιστείλα πρὸς Ἰωνίαν ὅπως ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν.

3 ὁ δ’ ἡσυχὴ προγνοῦσα καὶ φοβηθεὶς τῶν μὲν πράξεων πασῶν ἔκοινώνει τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις, τὸ δ’ εἰς χειρὰς ἐναὶ παντάπασιν ἔφευγε, Τισαφέρην δὲ, τὸ βασιλείας σατράπην, δοὺς ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας εὐθὺς ἣν παρ’ αὐτῷ πρῶτος καὶ 4 μέγιστος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολύτροπον καὶ περιττὸν

1 Cf. Lycurgus, xxii. 4–6.
2 With these words the two years which had elapsed since the flight of Alcibiades (xxii. 1) are passed over, so far as the
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There had been an earthquake, and he had run in terror out of his chamber and the arms of his wife, and then for ten months had had no further intercourse with her. And since Leotychides had been born at the end of this period, Agis declared that he was no child of his. For this reason Leotychides was afterwards refused the royal succession.\(^1\)

XXIV. After the Athenian disaster in Sicily,\(^2\) the Chians, Lesbians, and Cyzicenes sent embassies at the same time to Sparta, to discuss a revolt from Athens. But though the Boeotians supported the appeal of the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus that of the Cyzicenes, the Spartans, under the persuasion of Alcibiades, elected to help the Chians first of all. Alcibiades actually set sail in person and brought almost all Ionia to revolt, and, in constant association with the Lacedaemonian generals, wrought injury to the Athenians. But Agis was hostile to him because of the wrong he had suffered as a husband, and he was also vexed at the repute in which Alcibiades stood; for most of the successes won were due to him, as report had it. The most influential and ambitious of the other Spartans also were already envious and tired of him, and soon grew strong enough to induce the magistrates at home to send out orders to Ionia that he be put to death.

His stealthy discovery of this put him on his guard, and while in all their undertakings he took part with the Lacedaemonians, he sedulously avoided coming into their hands. Then, resorting to Tissaphernes, the King's satrap, for safety, he was soon first and foremost in that grandee's favour. For his versatility Sicilian expedition is concerned. They are covered by the narrative of the *Nicias* (xv.–xxx.).
αὐτοῦ τῆς δεινότητος οὐκ ὃν ἄπλοὺς, ἀλλὰ κακοήθης καὶ φιλοπόνηρος, ἔθαυμαζέν ο βάρβαρος·
taίς δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ συσχολάζειν καὶ συν-
diaitάςθαι χάρισιν οὐδὲν ἢν ἀτεγκτὸν ἦθος οὐδὲ
φύσις ἀνάλωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδίσαι καὶ φθονοῦσιν
ὁμώς τὸ συγγενέσθαι καὶ προσιδεῖν ἐκείνων ἦδο-
νήν τινα καὶ φιλοφροσύνην παρεῖχε. τάλλ’ οὖν
ὡν καὶ μισέλλην ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Περσῶν ὁ
Τισαφέρης, οὕτως ἐνεδίδον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ κολα-
κενόμενος ὡσθ’ ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτῶν ἀντικολακεύων
ἐκείνως. ὅν γὰρ ἐκεκτήτω παραδείσεων τὸν κάλ-
λιστον καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ λειμώνων ὑγιεινῶν ἐνεκεῖν,
diatριβάς ἔχοντα καὶ καταφύγας ἡσκημένας
βασιλικῶς καὶ περιττῶς, Ἀλκιβιάδην καλεῖν
ἐθετο· καὶ πάντες οὗτοι καλοῦντες καὶ προσα-
γορεύοντες διετέλουν.

XXV. 'Απογνωσις οὖν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τὰ τῶν
Σπαρτιατῶν ὡς ἀπιστα, καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν
Ἀγίν, ἐκάκου καὶ διέβαλλε πρὸς τὸν Τισαφέρην,
οὗκ ἔως βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς προθύμως οὔδὲ καταλύειν
tοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλὰ γυλίσχρως χορηγοῦντα
θλίβειν καὶ ἀποκναίειν ἀτρέμα καὶ ποιεῖν ἀμφο-
tέρους βασιλεῖς χειροθέθεις καὶ καταπόνους ὑπ"
and surpassing cleverness were the admiration of the Barbarian, who was no straightforward man himself, but malicious and fond of evil company. And indeed no disposition could resist and no nature escape Alcibiades, so full of grace was his daily life and conversation. Even those who feared and hated him felt a rare and winning charm in his society and presence. And thus it was that Tissaphernes, though otherwise the most ardent of the Persians in his hatred of the Hellenes, so completely surrendered to the flatteries of Alcibiades as to outdo him in reciprocal flatteries. Indeed, the most beautiful park he had, both for its refreshing waters and grateful lawns, with resorts and retreats decked out in regal and extravagant fashion, he named Alcibiades; everyone always called it by that name.

XXV. Alcibiades now abandoned the cause of the Spartans, since he distrusted them and feared Agis, and began to malign and slander them to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to aid them very generously, and yet not to put down the Athenians completely, but rather by niggardly assistance to straiten and gradually wear out both, and so make them easy victims for the King when they had weakened and exhausted each other. Tissaphernes was easily persuaded, and all men saw that he loved and admired his new adviser, so that Alcibiades was looked up to by the Hellenes on both sides, and the Athenians repented themselves of the sentence they had passed upon him, now that they were suffering for it. Alcibiades himself also was presently burdened with the fear that if his native city were altogether destroyed, he might come into the power of the Lacedaemonians, who hated him.
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3 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάμῳ τότε πάντα τὰ πράγματα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις σχέδον ὑπῆρχε· κάκειθεν ὁρμώμενοι τῇ ναυτικῇ δυνάμει τὰ μὲν ἀνεκτώντο τῶν ἀφεστῶτων, τὰ δ’ ἐφύλαττον ἀμώς γέ πως ἑτὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ θάλατταν ὄντες ἄξιόμαχοι, Τίσαφέρνην δὲ φοβοῦμενοι καὶ τὰς λεγομένας ὅσον οὖ παρεῖναι Φοινίσσας τρήρεις πευτήκοντα καὶ ἕκατον οὐσας, ὧν ἀφικομένων οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ὑπελείπετο τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ’ εἰδὼς Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπεμπε κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ δυνατοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλπίδας ἐνδιδοὺς παρέξειν τὸν Τίσαφέρνην φίλον, οὗ τοῖς πολλοῖς χαριζόμενος οὐδὲ πιστεύων ἔκεινοι, ἄλλα τοῖς ἀρίστοις, εἰ τολμήσειαν ἄνδρες ἁγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ παύσαντες υβρίζοντα τὸν δήμον αὐτοῦ δὲ ἑαυτῶν σώζειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν.

5 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀλλοι σφόδρα προσείχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν εἰς, Φρύνιχος ὁ Δειραδιώτης, ὑποπτεύσας, ὡς ἤπερ ἦν, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην οὐδὲν τι μάλλον ὀλυγαρχίας ἢ δημοκρατίας δεόμενος, ξητοῦντα δὲ πάντως κατελθεῖν, ἐκ διαβολῆς τοῦ δήμου προθεραπεύειν καὶ ὑποδύεσθαι τοὺς δυνατούς, ἀνθίστατο. κρατοῦμενος δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ φανερῶς ἤδη τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου γεγονὼς ἐχθρός, ἐξήγγειλε κρύφα πρὸς Ἀστύποχον 205 τῶν τῶν πολεμίων ναῦαρχον, ἐγκελευόμενος φυλάττεσθαι καὶ συλλαμβάνειν ὡς ἐπαμφοτερὲς ἥσοντα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ἔλελήθει δ’ ἄρα προδότου.
ALCIBIADES

At this time\(^1\) almost all the forces of Athens were at Samos. From this island as their naval base of operations they were trying to win back some of their Ionian allies who had revolted, and were watching others who were disaffected. After a fashion they still managed to cope with their enemies on the sea, but they were afraid of Tissaphernes and of the fleet of one hundred and fifty Phoenician triremes which was said to be all but at hand; if this once came up, no hope of safety was left for their city. Alcibiades was aware of this, and sent secret messages to the influential Athenians at Samos, in which he held out the hope that he might bring Tissaphernes over to be their friend. He did not seek, he said, the favour of the multitude, nor trust them, but rather that of the aristocrats, in case they would venture to show themselves men, put a stop to the insolence of the people, take the direction of affairs into their own hands, and save their cause and city.

Now the rest of the aristocrats were much inclined to Alcibiades. But one of the generals, Phrynichus, of the deme Deirades, suspected (what was really the case) that Alcibiades had no more use for an oligarchy than for a democracy, but merely sought in one way or another a recall from exile, and therefore inveighed against the people merely to court betimes the favour of the aristocrats, and ingratiate himself with them. He therefore opposed him. When his opinion had been overborne and he was now become an open enemy of Alcibiades, he sent a secret message to Astyochus, the enemy's naval commander, bidding him beware of Alcibiades and arrest him, for that he was playing a double game. But without his

\(^1\) During the winter of 412-411 B.C.
της προδότη διαλεγόμενος. τὸν γὰρ Τισαφέρνην ἐκπεπληγμένος ὁ Ἀστυόχος, καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὁ Ἡρώδος, αὐτῷ μέγαν ὄντα, κατεμήνυε τὰ τοῦ Φρυνίχου πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς Σάμου ἐπέμψε τοὺς τοῦ Φρυνίχου κατηγορήσοντας. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ συνισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν Φρυνίχον, οὐχ ὁ Ἡρώδος ἔτεραν διαφυγὴν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπεχείρησεν 7 ἵσασθαι μείζονι κακῷ τὸ κακὸν. αὐθίς γὰρ ἐπέμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀστυόχον, ἐγκαλῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς μηνύσεως, ἐπαγγελλόμενος δὲ τᾶς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποχείριον αὐτῷ παρέξειν.

Οὐ μὴν ἔβλασε γε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἢ τοῦ Φρυνίχου προδοσία διὰ τὴν Ἀστυόχου παλιμπροδοσίαν. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα κατείπε τοῦ Φρυνίχου 8 πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Φρύνιχος προμνημόμενος καὶ προσδεχόμενος δευτέραν κατηγορίαν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, φθάσας αὐτὸς προεῖπε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἐπιπλεῖν οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ παρήνεσε πρὸς ταῖς ναυσὶν 9 εἶναι καὶ περιτείχίσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πραττόντων ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦκε γράμματα πάλιν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, φυλάττεσθαι κελεύοντος τὸν Φρύνιχον ὡς προδιδόντα τοῖς πολέμοις τὸν ναυσταθμὸν, ἦπιστησαν οἱ Ἰούλιοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην εἰδότα σαφῶς τὴν τῶν πολέμιων παραπεκεποῦ καὶ διάνοιαν ἀποχρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν 10 τοῦ Φρυνίχου διαβολὴν οὐκ ἄλληθως. ἤστερον
knowing it, it was a case of traitor dealing with traitor. For Astyochus was much in awe of Tissaphernes, and seeing that Alcibiades had great power with the satrap, he disclosed the message of Phrynichus to them both. Alcibiades at once sent men to Samos to denounce Phrynichus. All the Athenians there were incensed and banded themselves together against Phrynichus, who, seeing no other escape from his predicament, attempted to cure one evil by another and a greater. He sent again to Astyochus, chiding him indeed for his disclosure of the former message, but announcing that he stood ready to deliver into his hands the fleet and army of the Athenians.

However, this treachery of Phrynichus did not harm the Athenians at all, because of the fresh treachery of Astyochus. This second message of Phrynichus also he delivered to Alcibiades. But Phrynichus knew all the while that he would do so, and expected a second denunciation from Alcibiades. So he got the start of him by telling the Athenians himself that the enemy were going to attack them, and advising them to have their ships manned and their camp fortified. The Athenians were busy doing this when again a letter came from Alcibiades bidding them beware of Phrynichus, since he had offered to betray their fleet to the enemy. This letter they disbelieved at the time, supposing that Alcibiades, who must know perfectly the equipment and purposes of the enemy, had used his knowledge in order to calumniate Phrynichus falsely. Afterwards,¹

¹ In the summer of 411 B.C., Phrynichus having been deposed from his command at Samos, and showing himself an ardent supporter of the revolutionary Four Hundred at Athens.
μέντοι τὸν Φρύνιχον ἐνὸς τῶν περιπόλων Ἐρμωνος ἐν ἀγορᾷ πατάξαντος ἐγχειρίδιῳ καὶ διαφθειρό- 
rantos, οἱ Ἀθηναίοι δίκης γενομένης τοῦ μὲν 
Φρύνιχου προδοσίαν κατεψυχίαν τεθηκότος, 
tὸν δὲ Ἐρμωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ συντάντας 
estefánous.

XXVI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάμῳ τότε κρατήσαντες οἱ 
Ἀλκιβιάδου φίλοι πέμπουσι Πείσανδρον εἰς 
ἀστυ κινήσουσα τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ παραθαρ- 
ρυνόντας τοὺς δυνατοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμ- 
βάνεσθαι καὶ καταλύειν τὸν δήμον, ὡς ἐπὶ 
tούτους τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου Τισαφέρνῃς αὐτοῖς 
φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον παρέξοντος. αὐτὴ γὰρ 
ἡ πρόφασις καὶ τὸ τοῦτο πρόσχημα τοῖς καθιστᾶ 
2 τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἵσχυσαν καὶ παρέλαβον 
tὰ πράγματα οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι λεγόμενοι, 
tετρακόσιοι δὲ οὖντες, ἐλάχιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ 
προσεῖχον ἡδη καὶ μαλακώτερον ἤπτοντο τοῦ 
πολέμου, τὰ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντες ἔτι πρὸς τὴν 
μεταβολὴν ἐξοπλισθοῦσι τοῖς πολίταις, τὰ δὲ 
οἱμένοι μᾶλλον ἐνδώσειν αὐτοῖς Δακεδαιμονίους 
3 ἀεὶ πρὸς ὀλυγαρχίαν ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἔχονται. ὁ 
mὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δήμος ἄκων ὑπὸ δέους 
ἡσυχίαν ἤγει καὶ γὰρ ἀπεσφάγησαν οὐκ ὀλγοῦ 
tῶν ἐναντιομένων φανερῶς τοῖς τετρακόσιοις. 
oi δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακ- 
tοῦντες ἀριστεὶ πλεῖν ἐυθὺς ἔπι τὸν Πειραιᾶ, 
kαὶ μεταπεμφάμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ στρατη- 
γόν ἀποδείξαντες ἐκέλευν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ καταλύειν 
tοὺς τυράννους.

4 Ὁ δὲ οὐχ οἶον ἂν τε ἐξαιρήθη χάριτι τῶν
however, when Hermon,¹ one of the frontier guard, had smitten Phrynichus with a dagger and slain him in the open market-place, the Athenians tried the case of the dead man, found him guilty of treachery, and awarded crowns to Hermon and his accomplices.

XXVI. But at Samos the friends of Alcibiades soon got the upper hand, and sent Peisander to Athens to change the form of government. He was to encourage the leading men to overthrow the democracy and take control of affairs, with the plea that on these terms alone would Alcibiades make Tissaphernes their friend and ally. This was the pretence and this the pretext of those who established the oligarchy at Athens. But as soon as the so-called Five Thousand (they were really only four hundred) got the power and took control of affairs, they at once neglected Alcibiades entirely, and waged the war with less vigour, partly because they distrusted the citizens, who still looked askance at the new form of government, and partly because they thought that the Lacedaemonians, who always looked with favour on an oligarchy, would be more lenient towards them. The popular party in the city was constrained by fear to keep quiet, because many of those who openly opposed the Four Hundred had been slain. But when the army in Samos learned what had been done at home, they were enraged, and were eager to sail forthwith to the Piraeus, and sending for Alcibiades, they appointed him general, and bade him lead them in putting down the tyrants.

An ordinary man, thus suddenly raised to great

¹ The name is wrong, and has crept into the story by an error which can be traced. Hermon was "commander of the frontier guard stationed at Munychia" (Thuc. viii. 92, 5).
πολλῶν μέγας γεγονός ἐπαθεὶ καὶ ἡγάτης, πάντα δὲιν εὐθὺς οἰόμενος χαρίζεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς ἐκ πλάνητος καὶ φυγάδος αὐτῶν νεῶν τοσούτων καὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ δυνάμεως τηλικαύτης ἀποδείξασιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατηγῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἦν ἄρχοντι μεγάλῳ προσήκον, ἀνθίστασθαι φερομένους ὑπ’ ὅργῆς, κωλύσας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, τότε γοῦν τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει περιφανῶς ἔσωσεν. εἰ γὰρ ἄραντες ἀπέπλευσαν οὐκαδε, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίῳς εὐθὺς ἔχειν ὑπήρχεν Ἰωνίαν ἀπασαν, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντουν ἀμαχεῖ, καὶ 206 τὰς νῆσους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις μάχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμβαλόντας· ὅν μόνος μάλιστα μὴ γενέσθαι διεκώλυσεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, οὐ μόνον πείθων καὶ διδάσκων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἑνα τοὺς μὲν ἀντιβολῶν, 6 τῶν δὲ ἐπιλαμβανόμενος. συνέπραττε δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Ὀρασύβουλος ὁ Στειρεὺς ἀμα παρὼν καὶ κεκραγὼς· ἢν γάρ, ὥς λέγεται, μεγαλοφωνώτατος Ἀθηναίων.

Ἐκεῖνό τε δὴ καλὸν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ δεύτερον, ὅτι ὑποσχόμενος τὰς Φοινίκας ναῦς, ἃς προσδέχοντο Δακεδαίμονι βασιλέως πέμψαντο, ἢ μεταστῆσεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ διαπράξεσθαι μηδὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους κομισθῆναι, διὰ ταχέων 7 ἐξέπλευσε. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐκφανείσας περὶ Ἀσπενδοῦν οὐκ ἦγαγεν ὁ Τισαφέρνης, ἀλλ’ ἐγεύσατο τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους, τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀποτρέψαι παρ’ ἀμφοτέροις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης

1 καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντουν Bekker: Ἑλλησπόντου.
power by the favour of the multitude, would have been full of complaisance, thinking that he must at once gratify them in all things and oppose them in nothing, since they had made him, instead of a wandering exile, leader and general of such a fleet and of so large an armed force. But Alcibiades, as became a great leader, felt that he must oppose them in their career of blind fury, and prevented them from making a fatal mistake. Therefore in this instance, at least, he was the manifest salvation of the city. For had they sailed off home, their enemies might at once have occupied all Ionia, the Hellespont without a battle, and the islands, while Athenians were fighting Athenians and making their own city the seat of war. Such a war Alcibiades, more than any other one man, prevented, not only persuading and instructing the multitude together, but also, taking them man by man, supplicating some and constraining others. He had a helper, too, in Thrasybulus of Steiris,¹ who went along with him and did the shouting; for he had, it is said, the biggest voice of all the Athenians.

A second honourable proceeding of Alcibiades was his promising to bring over to their side the Phoenician ships which the King had sent out and the Lacedaemonians were expecting,—or at least to see that those expectations were not realized,—and his sailing off swiftly on this errand. The ships were actually seen off Aspendus, but Tissaphernes did not bring them up, and thereby played the Lacedaemonians false. Alcibiades, however, was

¹ This illustrious commander, the son of Lycus, is to be distinguished from Thrasybulus, the son of Thraso (chapter xxxvi. 1).
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ἐίχε, καὶ μάλλον ἔτι παρὰ τοῖς Δακεδαίμονίοις, ὡς διδάσκων τῶν βάρβαρον αὐτοὺς ὡς αὐτῶν περιοράν ἀπολλυμένους τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον ὅτι τοῖς ἑτέροις δύναμις τοσαύτη προσγενομένη τοὺς ἑτέρους ἄφηρείτο κομιδῇ τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάττης.

XXVII. Ἐκ τούτου κατελύθησαν μὲν οἱ τετρακόσιοι, τῶν Ἀλκεβιάδου φίλων προθύμως συλλαμβανομένων τοῖς τὰ δήμου φρονοῦσι βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀστεί καὶ κελευόντων κατείναι τῶν Ἀλκεβιάδην αὐτὸς ἤστε δεῖν μὴ κεναίσ χερσὶ μηδὲ ἀράκτως, οὐκτοὶ καὶ χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνδόξως κατελθεῖν, διὸ πρὸ τῶν μὲν ὅλων ναυσὶν ἐκ Σάμου περιέπλει τὴν Κυδίων καὶ Κόρων 2 θάλασσαν· ἐκεὶ δ' ἀκούσας Μίνδαρον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην εἰς Ἑλλησπόντου ἀναπλείων τῷ στόλῳ παντὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἡπείγετο βοηθήσαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τούτο καίροι συνήνυσε πλέων ὠκενσίακοδακτερίσιν, ἐν φ' πάσαις ὅμοι ταῖς ναυσὶ συμπεσόντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ διαναυμαχοῦστες περὶ Ἀβυδοῦ ἀμφότεροι τοῖς μὲν ἠττώμενοι μέρεσι, τοῖς δὲ νικῶντες ἄχρι δείλης ἁγὼν μεγάλῳ συνείχοντο. 3 καὶ παρέσχε μὲν ἐναντίαιν δόξαν ἀμφότεροις ἐπιφανείς, ὡς τε θαρρεῖν μὲν τοὺς πολέμιοις, θορυβεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ταχὺ δὲ σημεῖον ἄρας ἀπό τῆς ναυαρχίδος φίλων ὀρμησθεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας καὶ διώκοντας τῶν Πελοπονησίων. τρεψάμενος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξέσωσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ προσκέιμενος ἐκοπτεῖ τὰς ναύς

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credited with this diversion of the ships by both parties, and especially by the Lacedaemonians. The charge was that he instructed the Barbarian to suffer the Hellenes to destroy one another. For it was perfectly clear that the side to which such a naval force attached itself would rob the other altogether of the control of the sea.

XXVII. After this the Four Hundred were overthrown,¹ the friends of Alcibiades now zealously assisting the party of the people. Then the city willingly ordered Alcibiades to come back home. But he thought he must not return with empty hands and without achievement, through the pity and favour of the multitude, but rather in a blaze of glory. So, to begin with, he set sail with a small fleet from Samos and cruised off Cnidus and Cos. There he heard that Mindarus the Spartan admiral had sailed off to the Hellespont with his entire fleet, followed by the Athenians, and so he hastened to the assistance of their generals. By chance he came up, with his eighteen triremes, at just that critical point when both parties, having joined battle with all their ships off Abydos, and sharing almost equally in victory and defeat until evening, were locked in a great struggle. The appearance of Alcibiades inspired both sides with a false opinion of his coming: the enemy were emboldened and the Athenians were confounded. But he quickly hoisted Athenian colours on his flagship and darted straight upon the victorious and pursuing Peloponnesians. Routing them, he drove them to land, and following hard after them, rammed and shattered their ships.

¹ They usurped the power in June, of 411 B.C.; they fell in September of the same year.
καὶ συνετέρωσκε, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκνεύοντων καὶ Φαρναβάζου πεζῇ προσβοηθοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ μαχομένου παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν. 4 τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν πολεμῶν τριάκοντα λαβόντες, ἀνασώσαντες δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν, τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. 5 Οὕτω δὲ λαμπρὰ χρησάμενος εὐτυχία, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος εὐθὺς ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τῷ Τισαφέρνη, ξένια καὶ δώρα παρασκευασάμενος καὶ θεραπείαν ἔχων ἡγεμονικὴν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐ μὴν ἔτυχεν ὅπνεον προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι κακῶς ἀκούων ὁ Τισαφέρνης ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων, καὶ φοβούμενος αἰτίαν λαβεῖν ἐκ βασιλέως, ἔδοξεν ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀφίκθαι, καὶ συλλαβῶν αὐτὸν ἑίρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ὡς λύσιν ἐκείνης τῆς διάβολης τῆς ἀδικίας ταύτης ἔσομένης.

XXVIII. Τριάκοντα δὲ ἦμερῶν διαγενομένων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑπὸ τοῦ ποθὲν εὐπορήσας καὶ ἀποδράς τοὺς φύλακας εἰς Κλαξομενᾶς διέφυγε, καὶ τὸν μὲν Τισαφέρνην προσδίεβαλλεν ὡς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου μεθεμένος, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πυθόμενος Μίνδαρον ὁμοῦ καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐν Κυζίκῳ γε- 2 γονέας, τοὺς μὲν στρατιῶτας παρώρμησεν, ὡς ἀνάγκην οὔσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζο- μαχεῖν καὶ νῆ Διὰ τειχωμαχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πολε- μοῦν; χρήματα γὰρ ὅπες εἶναι μὴ πάντη κρατοῦσιν. 207 πληρώσας δὲ τὰς ναῦς καὶ κατάρας εἰς Προικόν-
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Their crews swam ashore, and here Pharnabazus came to their aid with his infantry and fought along the beach in defence of their ships. But finally the Athenians captured thirty of them, rescued their own, and erected a trophy of victory.

Taking advantage of a success so brilliant as this, and ambitious to display himself at once before Tissaphernes, Alcibiades supplied himself with gifts of hospitality and friendship and proceeded, at the head of an imperial retinue, to visit the satrap. His reception, however, was not what he expected. Tissaphernes had for a long time been accused by the Lacedaemonians to the King, and being in fear of the King's condemnation, it seemed to him that Alcibiades had come in the nick of time. So he arrested him and shut him up in Sardis, hoping that such an outrage upon him as this would dispel the calumnies of the Spartans.

XXVIII. After the lapse of thirty days Alcibiades ran away from his guards, got a horse from some one or other, and made his escape to Clazomenae. To repay Tissaphernes, he alleged that he had escaped with that satrap's connivance, and so brought additional calumny upon him. He himself sailed to the camp of the Athenians,¹ where he learned that Mindarus, along with Pharnabazus, was in Cyzicus. Thereupon he roused the spirits of the soldiers, declaring that they must now do sea-fighting and land-fighting and even siege-fighting, too, against their enemies, for poverty stared them in the face unless they were victorious in every way. He then manned his ships and made his way to Proconnesus,

¹ Early in the spring of 410 B.C. The Athenians were at Cardia, a city of the Thracian Chersonese.
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νησον ἔκελευσεν ἑντὸς περιβάλλειν τὰ λεπτὰ πλοῖα καὶ παραφυλάσσειν, ὡς μηδεμία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιπλέοντος αὐτοῦ γένοιτο μηδαμόθεν προαιρόσθησις.

3 Ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντα καὶ βροντᾶς καὶ ξόφον συνεργῆσαι καὶ συνεπικρύψα τὴν παρασκευὴν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπεγνωκότας ἦδη ἐμβῆμαι κελεύσας ἀνήχθη. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὁ τε ξόφος διελύθη καὶ κατώφθησαν αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆσες αἰωροῦμεναι

4 πρὸ τοῦ λυμένος τῶν Κυζικηνῶν. δείσας οὖν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν προϊόντες εἰς τὴν γῆν καταφύγωσι, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἔκελευσεν ἱσυχὴν πλέοντας ὑπολείπεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τετταράκοντα ναῦς ἔχων ἐφαίνετο καὶ προύκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους. ἔπει δ’ ἐξηπάτημο καὶ καταφρονήσαντες χάνει τοσαύτας ἀντεξῆλασαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξήπτυσαν καὶ συνεπέλκοντο, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἦδη μαχομένους ἐπιφερομένων ἐκπλαγέντες ἐφευγον.

5 Ὁ δ’ Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶκοσι ταῖς ἁρίσταις διεκπλεύσας καὶ προσβαλὼν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀποβάς, ἐνέκειτο τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφθείρε. Μινδάρου δὲ καὶ Φαρναβάζου προσβοθοῦντων κρατήσας, τὸν μὲν Μινδαρον ἀνείλει ἐρρωμένως ἀγωνίζομενοι, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἐφυγε. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ὄπλων κρατήσαντες τάς τε ναῦς ἀπάσας ἑλαβον, χειρωσάμενοι δὲ καὶ Κυζικον, 82
giving orders at once to seize all small trading craft and keep them under guard, that the enemy might get no warning of his approach from any source so ever.

Now it chanced that copious rain fell all of a sudden, and thunder-peals and darkness coöperated with him in concealing his design. Indeed, not only did he elude the enemy, but even the Athenians themselves had already given up all expectation of fighting, when he suddenly ordered them aboard ship and put out to sea. After a little the darkness cleared away, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen hovering off the harbour of Cyzicus. Fearing then lest they catch sight of the full extent of his array and take refuge ashore, he ordered his fellow-commanders to sail slowly and so remain in the rear, while he himself, with only forty ships, hove in sight and challenged the foe to battle. The Peloponnesians were utterly deceived, and scorning what they deemed the small numbers of their enemy, put out to meet them, and closed at once with them in a grappling fight. Presently, while the battle was raging, the Athenian reserves bore down upon their foe, who were panic stricken and took to flight.

Then Alcibiades with twenty of his best ships broke though their line, put to shore, and disembarking his crews, attacked his enemy as they fled from their ships, and slew many of them. Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their aid, he overwhelmed; Mindarus was slain fighting sturdily, but Pharnabazus made his escape. Many were the dead bodies and the arms of which the Athenians became masters, and they captured all their enemy's ships. Then they also stormed Cyzicus, which Pharnabazus
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ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ Φαρμαβάζου καὶ τῶν Πελοπον-νησίων διαφαραέντων, οὗ μόνων τοῦ Ἐλλήσποντου εἶχον βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης ἔξηλασαν κατὰ κράτος τοῦ Δακεδαιμονίων. ἔαλω δὲ καὶ γράμματα λακωνικῶς φράζοντα τοῖς Ἐφόροις τὴν γεγενημένην ἀτυχίαν. "Ερρει τὰ κάλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσφώνει: πεινῶντι τῶνδρες· ἀπορίσομες τῇ χρή δράν." 

XXIX. Οὗτοι δὲ ἐπήρθησαν οἳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλκι-βιάδου στρατευσάμενοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησαν ὅστ' ἀπαξιοῦν ἐτὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καταμιγνύαι στρατιώταις ἑαυτοὺς πολλάκις ἢττημένους ἢττη-τήτους ὑντας. καὶ γὰρ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον συνε-βεβήκει πταίσαντος περὶ Ἕφεσον τοῦ Ἐφεσύλλου τὸ χαλκοῦν ἀνεστάναι τρόπαιον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων

2 ἐπὶ αἰσχύνη τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ταῦτ' οὖν ὠνείδιξον οἳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Ἐφεσύλλου, μεγαλύνοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μήτε γνωμασίων μήτε χώρας ἐν στρατόπεδῳ κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλοντες. ἔπει δὲ Φαρμαβάζος ἰππέας τε πολλοὺς ἔχων καὶ πεζοὺς ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ἐμβεβληκόσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηνην, ὅ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδας ἐκβοθηθῆσας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατεδώξεν ἀχρί σκότους μετὰ τοῦ Ἐφεσύλλου, καὶ ἀνεμίγ-νυντο καὶ κοινή φιλοφρονοῦμενοι καὶ χαίροντες ἐπανήσαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

3 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ στῆσας τρόπαιον ἔλεηλάτει τὴν Φαρμαβάζου χώραν οὐδενὸς ἀμύνεσθαι τολμῶντος. ἰερεῖς μέντοι καὶ ἰερείας ἐλαβε μέν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων. Χαλκηδονίοις δ' ἀφεστώσι καὶ
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abandoned to its fate, and the Peloponnesians in it were annihilated. Thus the Athenians not only had the Hellespont under their sure control, but even drove the Lacedaemonians at a stroke from the rest of the sea. A dispatch was captured announcing the disaster to the ephors in true laconic style: "Our ships are lost; Mindarus is gone; our men are starving; we know not what to do."

XXIX. But the soldiers of Alcibiades were now so elated and filled with pride that they disdained longer to mingle with the rest of the army, since it had often been conquered, while they were unconquered. For not long before this,¹ Thrasylus had suffered a reverse at Ephesus, and the Ephesians had erected their bronze trophy of victory, to the disgrace of the Athenians. This was what the soldiers of Alcibiades cast in the teeth of Thrasylus' men, vaunting themselves and their general, and refusing to share either training or quarters in camp with them. But when Pharnabazus with much cavalry and infantry attacked the forces of Thrasylus, who had made a raid into the territory of Abydos, Alcibiades sallied out to their aid, routed Pharnabazus, and pursued him till nightfall, along with Thrasylus. Thus the two factions were blended, and returned to their camp with mutual friendliness and delight.

On the following day Alcibiades set up a trophy of victory and plundered the territory of Pharnabazus, no one venturing to defend it. He even captured some priests and priestesses, but let them go without ransom. On setting out to attack Chalcedon, which

¹ During the summer of 410 B.C., after the victory of Cyzicus.
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δεδεμένοις φρουράν καὶ ἀρμοστὴν Δακεδαιμονίων ὀρμημένος πολεμεῖν, ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναγαγόντες εἰς Βιθυνίαν ὑπεκτίθενταī 1 φίλους ὄντας, ἦκεν ἐπί τοὺς ὄρους ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κήρυκα προπέμψας ἐνεκάλει τοὺς Βιθυνίους. οἱ δὲ δείσαντες τὴν τε λείαν ἀπέδοσαν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλίαν ὁμολόγησαν.

XXX. Ἀποτειχιζόμενης δὲ τῆς Χαλκηδόνος ἔκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἦκεν ὡς λύσων τὴν πολορκίαν, καὶ Ἰπποκράτης ὁ ἀρµοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξαγαγὼν τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἐπεχείρη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀντιτάξας τὸ στράτευμα, τῶν μὲν Φαρνάβαζον αἰσχρῶς φεύγειν ἡνάγκασε, τὸν δὲ Ἰπποκράτη διέφθειρε καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἦττηθέντας.

2 Ἔστ’ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἠγυρολόγηι καὶ Σηλυβρίαν εἶλεν, ἀφειδήσας ἐαυτοῦ παρὰ τῶν καιρῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἐνδιδοῦντες τὴν πόλιν συνέθεντο μὲν ἀνασχήσεων πυρὸν αὐτῷ μεσούσης νυκτός, ἡναγκάσθησαν δὲ τούτῳ ποιῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ, τῶν συνωμοτῶν τινα φοβηθέντες ἔξαιρης μεταβαλόμενοι. ἀρρήντων οὖν τοῦ πυρ- σοῦ μηδέποτε τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπὸς ἔτοιμης, ἀναλαβῶν ὅσον τριάκοντα περὶ αὐτῷ ἐπείγετο δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰ τείχη, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεσθαὶ κατὰ τάχος 3 κελεύσας. ἀνοιχθεῖσας δὲ τῆς πύλης αὐτῶ καὶ προσγενομένων τοὺς τριάκοντα πελταστῶν ἐίκοσι παρεισπεσών εὕθυς ἤσθετο τοὺς Σηλυβριανοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίασ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπιφερομένους. ἔπει

1 ὑπεκτίθενται with Ma and Cobet: ἐκτίθενται.
had revolted from Athens and received a Lacedaemonian garrison and governor, he heard that its citizens had collected all their goods and chattels out of the country and committed them for safe keeping to the Bithynians, who were their friends. So he marched to the confines of Bithynia with his army, and sent on a herald with accusations and demands. The Bithynians, in terror, gave up the booty to him, and made a treaty of friendship.

XXX. While Chalcedon was being walled in from sea to sea,¹ Pharnabazus came to raise the siege, and at the same time Hippocrates, the Spartan governor, led his forces out of the city and attacked the Athenians. But Alcibiades arrayed his army so as to face both enemies at once, put Pharnabazus to shameful flight, and slew Hippocrates together with many of his vanquished men.

Then he sailed in person into the Hellespont and levied moneys there. He also captured Selymbria, where he exposed himself beyond all bounds. For there was a party in the city which offered to surrender it to him, and they had agreed with him upon the signal of a lighted torch displayed at midnight. But they were forced to give this signal before the appointed time, through fear of one of the conspirators, who suddenly changed his mind. So the torch was displayed before his army was ready; but Alcibiades took about thirty men and ran to the walls, bidding the rest of his force follow with all speed. The gate was thrown open for him and he rushed into the city, his thirty men-at-arms reinforced by twenty targeteers, but he saw at once that the Selymbrians were advancing in battle array to attack

¹ In the spring of 409 B.C.
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δ’ υποστάντι μὲν οὐκ ἐφαίνετο σωτηρία, πρὸς δὲ τὸ φυγεῖν, ἀντηττος ἅχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ταῖς στρατηγικαῖς γεγονός, φιλονεικότερον εἰχε, τῇ σάλπιγγι σμήνας σιωπῆν ἐκέλευσεν ἐνα τῶν παρόντων ἀνειπείν Σηλυβριανοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἕναν-

4 τία ὅπλα μὴ τίθεσθαι. τούτο τὸ κήρυγμα τούς μὲν ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὡς τῶν πολεμίων ἐνδοὺ δυντόν ἀπαντῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἐπισίν ἡδίους ἐγένουτο πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις. ἐν ὧ δὲ συστάντες ἀλλήλους ἐδίδοσαν λόγον, ἐπήλθεν ἡ στρατιὰ τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅπερ ἦν, εἰρημικὰ φρονεῖν τοὺς Σηλυβριανοὺς, ἔδεισε

5 μὴ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Ὄρηκες διαρπᾶσωσιν. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοί, χάριτι τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ δι’ εὐνοιαν στρατευόμενοι προθύμως. ἀπέπεμψαν οὖν τοὺς ἀπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ Σηλυβρια-

νοὺς δεθέντας οὐδὲν ἡδίκησεν, ἀλλὰ χρῆματα λαβῶν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας ἀπῆλθεν.

XXXI. Οἱ δὲ πολιορκοῦντες τὴν Χαλκηδόνα στρατηγοῦ δοὺς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ἐπὶ τῷ χρῆματα λαβεῖν καὶ Χαλκηδονίους ὑπη-

κόους πάλιν Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Φαρναβάζου χώραν μὴ ἀδικεῖν, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων πρὸς βασιλέα πομπὴν μετʼ ἀσφαλείας

2 παρασχεῖν. ὡς οὖν ἐπανελθόντα τὸν Ἀλκι-

βιάδν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἦξιον καὶ αὐτὸν ὀμόσαι περὶ τῶν ὁμολογημένων, οὐκ ἔφη πρότερον ή ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς ὀμόσαι.

Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὀρκῶν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιοι ἄφε-
him. In resistance he saw no safety, and for flight, undefeated as he was in all his campaigns down to that day, he had too much spirit. He therefore bade the trumpet signal silence, and then ordered formal proclamation to be made that Selymbria must not bear arms against Athens. This proclamation made some of the Selymbrians less eager for battle, if, as they supposed, their enemies were all inside the walls; and others were mollified by hopes of a peaceful settlement. While they were thus parleying with one another, up came the army of Alcibiades. Judging now, as was really the case, that the Selymbrians were disposed for peace, he was afraid that his Thracian soldiers might plunder the city. There were many of these, and they were zealous in their service, through the favour and good will they bore Alcibiades. Accordingly, he sent them all out of the city, and then, at the plea of the Selymbrians, did their city no injury whatever, but merely took a sum of money from it, set a garrison in it, and went his way.

XXXI. Meanwhile the Athenian generals who were besieging Chalcedon made peace with Pharnabazus on condition that they receive a sum of money, that Chalcedon be subject again to Athens, that the territories of Pharnabazus be not ravaged, and that the said Pharnabazus furnish safe escort for an Athenian embassy to the King. Accordingly, when Alcibiades came back from Selymbria, Pharnabazus demanded that he too take oath to the treaty; but Alcibiades refused to do so until Pharnabazus had taken his oath to it.

After the oaths had been taken, he went up against Byzantium, which was in revolt against
στῶτας ἦλθε καὶ περιετείχίζε τὴν πόλιν. Ἀνα-ξιλάον δὲ καὶ Δυκούργου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων συνθεμένων ἐπὶ σωτηρία παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν, διαδοὺς λόγον ὡς ἀνίστησιν αὐτοὺς πράγματα νεώτερα συνιστάμενα περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ἡμέρας ἀπέπλει ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις, νυκτὸς δ’ ὑποστρέψας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέβη μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ προσελθὼν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα πλεύσασαι καὶ βιαζόμεναι κραυγῆ τε πολλῆ καὶ θορύβοις καὶ ψόφοις ἄμα μὲν ἐξεπλήττον τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ τοὺς Βυζαντίους, ἀμα δὲ τοὺς ἀττικίζουσι παρεῖχον ἐπὶ ἀδείας τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην δέχεσθαι, πάντων ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὰς ναῦς βοηθοῦντων. οὐ μὴν ἁμαχεὶ προσεχώρησαν οἱ γὰρ παρόντες ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ Πελοποννησίου καὶ Βοιωτοῖ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἔτρεψαντο καὶ καθείρξαν εἰς τὰς ναῦς πάλιν, τοὺς δ’ Ἀθηναίους ἐνδοὺ ὄντας αἰσθόμενοι καὶ συντάξαντες ἐαυτούς ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε. καρτερὰς δὲ μάχης γενομένης ἐνίκησεν Ἡλληνικής τὸ δεξίον κέρας ἐχων, Θηραμένης δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς περιγενομένους ὅσον τριακοσίους ξώντας ἔλαβε.

Βυζαντίων δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν οὐδ’ ἐφυγεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες 209 παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ταῦτα συνέθεντο, μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἵδιον ὑπεξελόμενοι. διὸ καὶ δίκην προδοσίας ἐν Δακεδαίμονι φεύγων ὁ Ἀναξίλαος.
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Athens, and compassed the city with a wall. But after Anaxilaüs, Lycurgus, and certain men besides had agreed to surrender the city to him on condition that it be not plundered, he spread abroad the story that threatening complications in Ionia called him away. Then he sailed off in broad daylight with all his ships; but in the night time stealthily returned. He disembarked with the men-at-arms under his own command, and stationed himself quietly within reach of the city’s walls. His fleet, meanwhile, sailed to the harbour, and forcing its way in with much shouting and tumult and din, terrified the Byzantians by the unexpectedness of its attack, while it gave the party of Athens in the city a chance to admit Alcibiades in all security, since everybody had hurried off to the harbour and the fleet. However, the day was not won without a battle. The Peloponnesians, Boeotians and Megarians who were in garrison at Byzantium routed the ships’ crews and drove them back on board again. Then, perceiving that the Athenians were inside the city, they formed in battle array and advanced to attack them. A fierce battle followed, but Alcibiades was victorious with the right wing, as well as Theramenes with the left, and they took prisoners no less than three hundred of the enemy who survived.

Not a man of the Byzantians was put to death or sent into exile after the battle, for it was on these conditions that the men who surrendered the city had acted, and this was the agreement with them; they exacted no special grace for themselves. Therefore it was that when Anaxilaüs was prosecuted at Sparta for treachery, his words showed clearly

1 During the winter of 409-408 B.C.
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ἐφάνη τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον οὖν αἰσχύνων. ἕφη γὰρ οὖν Δακεδαιμόνιος, ἀλλὰ Βυζάντιος, ούδὲ τὴν Ἐπάρτην κινδυνεύουσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον ὄρον, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀποτελείχομένης, μηδὲνός

6 δὴ εἰσαγωγένου, τὸν δ’ δυτα σίτων ἐν τῇ πόλει Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἔσθιόντων, Βυζάντιων δὲ πεινώντων σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν, οὐ προδούναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλάξαι τὴν πόλιν, μμούμενος τοὺς ἀρίστους Δακεδαιμονίων, ὁς ἐν καλῶν ἀπλῶς καὶ δίκαιον ἔστι τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Δακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες ἢδεσθησαν καὶ ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς ἀνδρας.

XXXII. Ὁ δ’ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἰδεῖν τε ποθῶν ἡδη τὰ οἴκοι, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὄφθηναι βουλόμενος τοὺς πολίτας γενικηκῶς τοὺς πολεμίους τοσαυτάκις, ἀνήχθη, πολλαῖς μὲν ἄσπισι καὶ λαφύροις κύκλω κεκοσμημένων τῶν Ἀττικῶν τρηρῶν, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐφελκόμενοι αἰχμαλώτοις, ἔτι δὲ πλεῖω κομίζων ἀκροστόλια τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ κεκρατημένων. ἦσαν γὰρ οւκ ἐλάττους συναμφότεραι διακοσίων.

2 Ἡ δὲ Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος Ἀλκιβιάδου φάσκων ἀπόγονος εἶναι προστίθησι τοῦτοις, αὐλεῖν μὲν εἰρεσίαν τοὺς ἠλαύνουσι Χρυσόγονον τὸν πυθιονίκην, κελεύειν δὲ Καλλιππίδην τὸν τῶν τραγφ- διῶν ὑποκριτὴν, στατοὺς καὶ ξυστίδας καὶ τῶν
that his deeds had not been disgraceful. He said that he was not a Lacedaemonian, but a Byzantian, and it was not Sparta that was in peril. Considering therefore the case of Byzantium, he saw that the city was walled up, that no help could make its way in; and that the provisions already in the city were being consumed by Peloponnesians and Boeotians, while the Byzantians were starving, together with their wives and children. He had, therefore, not betrayed the city to its enemies, but set it free from war and its horrors, therein imitating the noblest Lacedaemonians, in whose eyes the one unqualifiedly honourable and righteous thing is their country's good. The Lacedaemonians, on hearing this, were moved with sincere respect, and acquitted the men.

XXXII. But Alcibiades, yearning at last to see his home, and still more desirous of being seen by his fellow citizens, now that he had conquered their enemies so many times, set sail.\(^1\) His Attic triremes were adorned all round with many shields and spoils of war; many that he had captured in battle were towed along in his wake; and still more numerous were the figure-heads he carried of triremes which had been overwhelmed and destroyed by him. There were not less than two hundred of these all together.

Duris the Samian, who claims that he was a descendant of Alcibiades, gives some additional details. He says that the oarsmen of Alcibiades rowed to the music of a flute blown by Chrysogonus the Pythian victor; that they kept time to a rhythmic call from the lips of Callipides the tragic actor; that both these artists were arrayed in the

\(^1\) From Samos, in the spring of 408 B.C.
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ἀλλον ἐναγώνιον ἀμπεχομένους κόσμον, ἵστι καὶ ἀλουργῷ τὴν ναυαρχίδα προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς λιμέ−
3 σιν, ὁσπερ ἐκ μέθης ἐπικεκμάζοντος, οὔτε Θεό−
pομπὸς οὔτε Ἐφορος οὔτε Ἐνοφῶν γέγραφεν,
οὔτε εἰκός ἢν οὐτως ἐντυφήσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις
μετὰ φυγῆν καὶ συμφορᾶς τοσαύτας κατερχόμε−
νον, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος καὶ δεδιώκας κατηγετο, καὶ καταχ−
θεῖς οὐ πρότερον ἀπέβη τῆς τριήρους, πρὶν στὰς
ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἰδεῖν Ἑυρυπτόλεμον τε
τὸν ἀνεψιόν παρόντα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ
οἰκείων συχνοὺς ἐκδεχομένους καὶ παρακαλοῦν−
tας.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὴ ἀπέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς
οὐδὲ ὅραν ἐδόκουν ἀπαντῶντες οἱ ἀνθρωποί, πρὸς
dὲ ἐκεῖνον συντρέχοντες ἐβόων, ἡσπάζοντο, παρέ−
πεμπον, ἑστεφάνουν προσιόντες, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνά−
μενοι προσελθεῖν ἀποθεθεὶν ἔθεως, καὶ τοῖς νέοις
ἐδείκνυσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. πολὺ δὲ καὶ δα−
κρυνυν τῷ χαῖροντι τῆς πόλεως ἀνεκέκραξε, καὶ
μνήμη πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν τῶν πρόσθεν
ἀτυχημάτων, λογιζομένοις ὡς οὕτ' ἂν Σικέλιας

dιήμαρτον οὗτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν προσδοκηθέντων
ἐξέφυγεν αὐτοὺς ἐάσαντας Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπὶ τῶν
tότε πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκείνης, εἰ τῶν
τὴν πόλιν παραλαβῶν ὁλίγον δέοντας ἐκπεπτώ−
kέναι τῆς θαλάττης, κατὰ γηνὶ δὲ μόλις τῶν
προστείων κρατοῦσαν, αὐτὴν δὲ πρὸς ἐαυτὴν
στασιάζουσαν, ἐκ λυπρῶν ἐτε χελώνων καὶ ταπει−
νῶν ἀναστήσας οὐ μόνον τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος

1 μόνον with Ma and Cobet : μόνον γε.
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long tunics, flowing robes, and other adornment of their profession; and that the commander's ship put into harbours with a sail of purple hue, as though, after a drinking bout, he were off on a revel. But neither Theopompus, nor Ephorus, nor Xenophon mentions these things, nor is it likely that Alcibiades put on such airs for the Athenians, to whom he was returning after he had suffered exile and many great adversities. Nay, he was in actual fear as he put into the harbour, and once in, he did not leave his trireme until, as he stood on deck, he caught sight of his cousin Euryptolemus on shore, with many other friends and kinsmen, and heard their cries of welcome.

When he landed, however, people did not deign so much as to look at the other generals whom they met, but ran in throngs to Alcibiades with shouts of welcome, escorting him on his way, and putting wreaths on his head as they could get to him, while those who could not come to him for the throng, gazed at him from afar, the elderly men pointing him out to the young. Much sorrow, too, was mingled with the city's joy, as men called to mind their former misfortunes and compared them with their present good fortune, counting it certain that they had neither lost Sicily, nor had any other great expectation of theirs miscarried if they had only left Alcibiades at the head of that enterprise and the armament therefor. For now he had taken the city when she was almost banished from the sea, when on land she was hardly mistress of her own suburbs, and when factions raged within her walls, and had raised her up from this wretched and lowly plight, not only restoring her dominion over the sea,
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ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζῇ νικῶσαν ἀποδείκνυσι πανταχόù τοùς πολέμιους.

XXXIII. Τό μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα τῆς καθόδου πρότερον ἐκεκύρωτο, Κριτίον τοῦ Καλλαίσχρον γράψαντος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαισ πεποίη-κεν, υπομιμήσκων τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην τῆς χάριτος ἐν τούτοις·

Γνώμη δ' ἦ σε κατήγαγ', ἐγώ ταύτην ἐν ἀπασίν εἶπον, καὶ γράψας τούρχον ἠδρασα τόδε.

σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γήλωττης ἐπὶ τούσδεσι κεῖται.

2 τότε δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πάθη κλαύσας καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος, ἐγκαλέσας δὲ μικρὰ καὶ μέτρια τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἀναθεῖς αὐτοῦ τινι τύχῃ πονηρᾷ καὶ φθονερᾷ δαίμονι, πλεῖστα δ' εἰς ἐλπίδας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν διαλεχθείς καὶ παρομημέρας, στεφάνωις μὲν ἐστε-φανώθη χρυσοῖς, ἦρεθος δ' ἁμα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ 3 κατὰ θάλασσαν αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός. ἐψη-φίσαντο δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰς ἄρας ἀφοσιώσασθαι πάλιν Εὔμολπιδας καὶ Κήρυ-κας, ἃς ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος. ἀφοσιομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱερο-φάντης "Ἤλλοι ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ κατηρασά-μην αὐτῷ κακὸν οὐδέν, εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν."

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but actually rendering her victorious over her enemies everywhere on land.

XXXIII. Now the decree for his recall had been passed before this,\textsuperscript{1} on motion of Critias, the son of Callaeschrus, as Critias himself has written in his elegies, where he reminds Alcibiades of the favour in these words:

"Mine was the motion that brought thee back; I made it in public;
Words and writing were mine; this the task I performed;
Signet and seal of words that were mine give warrant as follows." \textsuperscript{2}

At this time,\textsuperscript{3} therefore, the people had only to meet in assembly, and Alcibiades addressed them. He lamented and bewailed his own lot, but had only little and moderate blame to lay upon the people. The entire mischief he ascribed to a certain evil fortune and envious genius of his own. Then he descanted at great length upon the vain hopes which their enemies were cherishing, and wrought his hearers up to courage. At last they crowned him with crowns of gold, and elected him general with sole powers by land and sea. They voted also that his property be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidae and Heralds revoke the curses wherewith they had cursed him at the command of the people. The others revoked their curses, but Theodorus the High Priest said: "Nay, I invoked no evil upon him if he does no wrong to the city."

\textsuperscript{1} Nearly three years before, in the late autumn of 411 B.C., after the overthrow of the Four Hundred.
\textsuperscript{3} In the early summer of 408 B.C.
XXXIV. Οὗτο δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου λαμπρῶς εὐημεροῦντος ὑπέθαρτεν ἐνίοις ὅμως ο ὁ τῆς καθό-
δου καίρος. ἢ γὰρ ἡμέρα κατέπλευσεν, ἐδράτο τὰ Πλυντήρια τῇ θεῷ. δρῶσε δὲ τὰ ὀργία
Πραξιεργίδαι Θαργηλίων ἔκτη φθίνοντος ἀπόρ-
ρητα, τὸν τε κόσμον καθελόντες καὶ τὸ ἔδος
κατακαλύφαντες. ὃθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν
ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἅπακτον Ἀθη- 2
ναίοι νομίζουσιν. ὃς φιλοφρόνως οὐν οὐδ᾽ εὐ-
μενῶς ἔδοκει προσδεχομένη τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἡ
θεᾶς παρακάλυπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἑαυτῆς.
οὐ μὴν ἄλλα πάντων γεγονότων τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδη
catat gnōmēn, kal plhroumēnōn ekaton trhprō
ai̇s aúthi̇s ἐκπλεῖν ἐμὲλλε, philotimía tis ou̇k
ángenvh προσπεσοῦσα κατέσχεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι
musthērōn.
3 Ἄρ’ οὖν γὰρ ἐπετειχίσθη Δεκέλεια καὶ τῶν
eis Ἐλευσίνα παρόδων ἐκράτον οἱ πολέμοι
parōntes, οὐδένα κόσμον εἴχεν ἡ τελετὴ πεπτο-
mēnē katab thalattan, allα kal thusiai kai
chrēiai kal polll twn drwmenwv kath odh
ierōn, opatan ἑξελαύνωσεi tōn Ἰακχου, υπ’ ἀνάγκης
4 ἐξελείπτετο. Kaloūn ou̇n εἴφανετο tō Ἀλκιβιάδη
kal prōs theōn osiótēta kal prōs ἀνδρόπων
doxan ἀποδοὺνai tō patriōn σχῆμα tois ierois,
parapēmpanta pezē tinh teletēn kai doruvorh-
santa par tōn polémōn. ἢ γὰρ ἀτρεμήσαντα
komh kholūsein kai tapanosēn tōn Ἀγων, ἢ
máchn ieran kai theofilē peri tōn āgōntatōn
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XXXIV. But while Alcibiades was thus prospering brilliantly, some were nevertheless disturbed at the particular season of his return. For he had put into harbour on the very day when the Plynteria of the goddess Athene were being celebrated. The Praxiergidae celebrate these rites on the twenty-fifth day of Thargelion, in strict secrecy, removing the robes of the goddess and covering up her image. Wherefore the Athenians regard this day as the unluckiest of all days for business of any sort. The goddess, therefore, did not appear to welcome Alcibiades with kindly favour and good will, but rather to veil herself from him and repel him. However, all things fell out as he wished, and one hundred triremes were manned for service, with which he was minded to sail off again; but a great and laudable ambition took possession of him and detained him there until the Eleusinian mysteries.

Ever since Deceleia had been fortified, and the enemy, by their presence there, commanded the approaches to Eleusis, the festal rite had been celebrated with no splendour at all, being conducted by sea. Sacrifices, choral dances, and many of the sacred ceremonies usually held on the road, when Iacchus is conducted forth from Athens to Eleusis, had of necessity been omitted. Accordingly, it seemed to Alcibiades that it would be a fine thing, enhancing his holiness in the eyes of the gods and his good repute in the minds of men, to restore its traditional fashion to the sacred festival by escorting the rite with his infantry along past the enemy by land. He would thus either thwart and humble Agis, if the king kept entirely quiet, or would fight a fight that was sacred and approved by the
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καὶ μεγίστων ἐν ὧν ὁϕεὶ τῆς πατρίδος μαχεῖσθαι, καὶ πάντας ἔξειν μάρτυρας τοὺς πολίτας τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας.

5 Ὅς δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ καὶ προεῖπεν Εὐμολπίδαισ καὶ Κήρυξι, σκοποῦσι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἐκάθισε καὶ προδρόμους τινὰς ἀμ’ ἡμέρα προεξέπεμψεν, ἱερεῖς δὲ καὶ μύστας καὶ μυσταγωγοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις περικαλύφασε ἤγεν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ μετὰ σωπῆς, θέαμα σεμνόν καὶ θεοπρετές τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκείνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ φθονούντων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ μυσταγωγίαν

6 προσαγορευμένην. μηδενὸς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθέσθαι τολμήσαντος ἁσφαλῶς ἐπαναγαγόντι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἦρθη μὲν αὐτὸς τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆρεν ὡς ἄμαχον καὶ ἀήττητον οὕσαν ἐκεῖνον στρατηγοῦντος, τοὺς δὲ φορτικοὺς καὶ πένητας οὕτως ἐθημαγώγησεν ὡσ’ ἐραν ἔρωτα θαυμαστὸν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τυραννεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγειν ἐνίος καὶ προσιέναι παρακελευμένους ὡπως τοῦ φθόνου κρείττων γενόμενος καὶ καταβαλῶν ψηφίσματα καὶ νόμους καὶ φλυάρους ἀπολλύνας τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἄν πράξῃ καὶ χρῆσηι τοῖς πράγμασι, μὴ δεδίως τοὺς συκοφάντας.

XXXV. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἦν εἰχὲ διάνοιαν περὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ἀδηλοῦ ἐστίν· οἱ δὲ δυνατῶτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσπούδασαν αὐτὸν ἐκπλεύσαι τὴν ταχίστην, τά τ’ ἄλλα ψηφισάμενοι καὶ συνάρχοντας οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἠθέλησεν.
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gods, in behalf of the greatest and holiest interests, in full sight of his native city, and with all his fellow citizens eye-witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this course and made known his design to the Eumolpidae and Heralds, he stationed sentries on the heights, sent out an advance-guard at break of day, and then took the priests, mystae, and mystagogues, encompassed them with his men-at-arms, and led them over the road to Eleusis in decorous and silent array. So august and devout was the spectacle which, as general, he thus displayed, that he was hailed by those who were not unfriendly to him as High Priest, rather, and Mystagogue. No enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession safely back to the city. At this he was exalted in spirit himself, and exalted his army with the feeling that it was irresistible and invincible under his command. People of the humbler and poorer sort he so captivated by his leadership that they were filled with an amazing passion to have him for their tyrant, and some proposed it, and actually came to him in solicitation of it. He was to rise superior to envy, abolish decrees and laws, and stop the mouths of the babblers who were so fatal to the life of the city, that he might bear an absolute sway and act without fear of the public informer.

XXXV. What thoughts he himself had about a tyranny, is uncertain. But the most influential citizens were afraid of it, and therefore anxious that he should sail away as soon as he could. They even voted him, besides everything else, the colleagues of his own choosing. Setting sail,¹ there-

¹ Towards the end of October, 408 B.C.
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ἐκπλεύσας δὲ ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ καὶ προσβαλὼν Ἄνδρῳ, μάχη μὲν ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων ὅσοι παρῆσαν, οὐχ εἴλε δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τῶν καυὼν ἕγκληματων πρῶτον ὑπήρξε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἑχθροῖς.

2 ἔσοικε δ’, εἰ τις ἄλλος, ἔπο τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης καταλυθήναι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης. μεγάλη γὰρ οὖσα καὶ τόλμης καὶ συνέσεως γέμουσα ἀφ’ ὧν κατώρθωσεν, ὑποτίθεον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔλλειπτον, ὡς οὐ σπουδάσαντος, ἀπεισοδία τοῦ μὴ δυνηθήναι παρεῖχε σπουδάσαντα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄν διαφυγεῖν. ἦλπιζον δὲ καὶ Χίρους ἐαλωκότας ἀκούσεσθαι καὶ τὴν

3 ἄλλην Ἡλιάναν. ὅθεν ἡγανάκτουν μὴ ταχὺ πάντα μηδ’ εἰθέως, ὡς ἐβούλοντο, πυνθανόμενοι διαπεραγμένοι, οὐχ ὑπολογιζόμενοι τὴν ἄρχημαν, ἀφ’ ἢς πολεμῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους βασιλέα μέγαν χρησίμον ἐχόντας ἡμαγκάζετο πολλάκις ἐκπλέων καὶ ἀπολείποι τὸ στρατόπεδον μισθοὺς καὶ τροφὰς πορίζειν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐγκλήμα διὰ ταύτην ἔλαβε τὴν αἰτίαν.

4 Δυσάνδρου γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ἀποσταλέντος ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων, καὶ τετράβολον ἀντὶ τριῳβόλου τῷ ναύτῃ διδόντος ἐξ ὧν ἔλαβε παρὰ Κύρου χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἢδη γλίσχρως χρησίματος καὶ τὸ τριῳβόλον ἀπῆρεν ἀργυρολογήσων ἐπὶ Καρίας. ὅ δ’ ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπὶ τῶν νεών ἐπιμελήτης Ἀντίοχος ἀγαθὸς ἦν κυβερνήτης, ἀνόητος δὲ τᾶλλα καὶ φορτικός ἐχὼν δὲ πρόσ-

1 καυὼν with Bekker, Ma and Cobet: καυὼν (public).

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fore, with his one hundred ships, and assaulting Andros, he conquered the islanders in battle, as well as the Lacedaemonians who were there, but he did not capture the city. This was the first of the fresh charges brought against him by his enemies.

And it would seem that if ever a man was ruined by his own exalted reputation, that man was Alcibiades. His continuous successes gave him such repute for unbounded daring and sagacity, that when he failed in anything, men suspected his inclination; they would not believe in his inability. Were he only inclined to do a thing, they thought, naught could escape him. So they expected to hear that the Chians also had been taken, along with the rest of Ionia. They were therefore incensed to hear that he had not accomplished everything at once and speedily, to meet their wishes. They did not stop to consider his lack of money. This compelled him, since he was fighting men who had an almoner of bounty in the Great King, to leave his camp frequently and sail off in quest of money for rations and wages. The final and prevailing charge against him was due to this necessity.

Lysander, who had been sent out as admiral by the Lacedaemonians, paid his sailors four obols a day instead of three, out of the moneys he received from Cyrus; while Alcibiades, already hard put to it to pay even his three obols, was forced to sail for Caria to levy money. The man whom he left in charge of his fleet, Antiochus, was a brave captain, but otherwise a foolish and low-lived fellow.

1 Cf. chapter x. 1.
ταγμα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μηδ’ ἂν ἐπιπλέωσιν οἱ πολέμοι διαναμαχεῖν, οὕτως ἐξύβρισε καὶ κατεφρύῃσεν ὅστε τὴν αὐτοῦ πληρωσάμενος τρήρη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν ἐπιπλέυσαι τῇ Ἐφέσῳ καὶ παρὰ τὰς πρόφας τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν πολλὰ καὶ πράττον καὶ φθεγγόμενος ἀκόλαστα καὶ βωμολόχα παρεξελαύνειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον Δύσανδρος ὀλίγας ναυσὶν ἐπαναχθεὶς ἔδίωκεν αυτὸν, τῶν δ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβοηθοῦντων πάσαις ἀναχθεῖς καὶ κρατήσας αὐτὸν τε διέφθειρε τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ ναῦς ἐλαβε πολλὰς καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστησεν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ’ ἦκουσεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Σάμον, ἀνήχθη παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ καὶ προϊκαλεῖτο τὸν Δύσανδρον. ὁ δ’ ἡγάται νεικηκὼς καὶ οὐκ ἀντανήγετο.

XXXVI. Τῶν δὲ μυσοῦντο τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ὀρασύβουλος ὁ Ὄρασων ἔχθρός ὁν ἀπήρεν εἰς Ἀθῆνας κατηγορήσων. καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ παραξύνας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν δήμον ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδης διέφθαρκε τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολόλεκεν, ἐντρυφῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ παραδίδοντας τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πότων καὶ ναυτικὴς σπερμολογίας δυναμένους παρ’ αὐτῷ 2 μέγιστον, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐπ’ ἀδείας χρηματίζῃ περιπλέων καὶ ἀκόλασται μεθυσκόμενος καὶ συνὶν ἔταιραις Ἀβυδηναῖς καὶ Ἰωνίσιν, ἐφορομούντων δ’ ὀλίγου τῶν πολεμίων. ένεκάλουν
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Although he had received explicit commands from Alcibiades not to hazard a general engagement even though the enemy sailed out to meet him, he showed such wanton contempt of them as to man his own trireme and one other and stand for Ephesus, indulging in many shamelessly insulting gestures and cries as he cruised past the prows of the enemy's ships. At first Lysander put out with a few ships only, and gave him chase. Then, when the Athenians came to the aid of Antiochus, Lysander put out with his whole fleet, won the day, slew Antiochus himself, captured many ships and men, and set up a trophy of victory. As soon as Alcibiades heard of this, he came back to Samos, put out to sea with his whole armament, and challenged Lysander to battle. But Lysander was satisfied with his victory, and would not put out to meet him.

XXXVI. There were those who hated Alcibiades in the camp, and of these Thrasybulus,¹ the son of Thraso, his particular enemy, set sail for Athens to denounce him. He stirred up the city against him by declaring to the people that it was Alcibiades who had ruined their cause and lost their ships by his wanton conduct in office. He had handed over—so Thrasybulus said—the duties of commander to men who won his confidence merely by drinking deep and reeling off sailors' yarns, in order that he himself might be free to cruise about collecting moneys and committing excesses of drunkenness and revelry with courtesans of Abydos and Ionia, and this while the enemy's fleet lay close to him. His enemies

¹ Not the illustrious commander (chapter xxvi. 6), who was the son of Lycus.
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3 μὴ βουλόμενος. οί δ' Ἀθηναίοι πεισθέντες ἐτέρους εἰλοντο στρατηγούς, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὄργην καὶ κακόνοιαν. ἀ δὴ πυθανόμενος ὁ Ἄλκηθιάδης καὶ δεδοικὼς ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παντάπασι, καὶ συναγαγὼν ξένους ἐπολέμει τοῖς ἀβασιλεύτοις Ὀμηρίδαις ἱδίᾳ, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα συνήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισκομένων, καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἀμα τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν ἄδειαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων παρεῖχεν.

4 Ἐπει δ' οἱ περὶ Τυδέα καὶ Μένανδρου καὶ Ἀδείμαντον στρατηγοῖς, πᾶσας ὅμοι τὰς ὑπαρ-χούσας τότε ναῦς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες ἐν Ἁγίος ποταμών, εἰώθεσαν ἐπιτελείν τῷ Ἀνασάνδρῳ ναυλοχοῦντι περὶ Λάμψακου ἀμφοτέρας ἰμέρα προκαλούμενοι καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφειν ὑπὸ ἃ καὶ διημερεύειν ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀμελῶς, ἀτε δὴ κατα-

5 φρονοῦντες, ἐγγὺς δὲν ὁ Ἀλκηθίαδης οὐ περιείδεν αὐτὸν ἐμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἵππῳ προσέλασας ἐδίδασκε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅτι κακῶς ὀρμοῦσιν ἐν χωρίοις ἄλλον καὶ πόλιν ὅπω ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πώρωθεν ἐκ Σηστοῦ τὰ ἐπιτίθεια λαμβάνοντες, καὶ περι- ορώντες τὸ ναυτικόν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γένηται, πλανώμενον ὧνοι τὰς θέλοι καὶ διασπειρόμενον, ἀντεφορμοῦντος αὐτοῖς στόλου πρὸς ἐπίταγμα μοναρχικὸν εἰθισμένον σιωπὴ πάντα ποιεῖν.

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1 With these words Plutarch's story leaps over the events of two and a half years, from the spring of 407 to the autumn of 405 B.C.

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also found ground for accusation against him in the fortress which he had constructed in Thrace, near Bisanthe. It was to serve, they said, as a refuge for him in case he either could not or would not live at home. The Athenians were persuaded, and chose other generals in his place, thus displaying their anger and ill-will towards him. On learning this, Alcibiades was afraid, and departed from the camp altogether, and assembling mercenary troops made war on his own account against the Thracians who acknowledge no king. He got together much money from his captives, and at the same time afforded security from barbarian inroads to the Hellenes on the neighbouring frontier.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adeimantus, the generals, who had all the ships which the Athenians could finally muster in station at Aegospotami,¹ were wont to sail out at daybreak against Lysander, who lay with his fleet at Lampsacus, and challenge him to battle. Then they would sail back again, to spend the rest of the day in disorder and unconcern, since, forsooth, they despised their enemy. Alcibiades, who was near at hand,² could not see such conduct with calmness or indifference, but rode up on horseback and read the generals a lesson. He said their anchorage was a bad one; the place had no harbour and no city, but they had to get their supplies from Sestos, a long way off; and they permitted their crews, whenever they were on land, to wander and scatter about at their own sweet wills, while there lay at anchor over against them an armament which was trained to do everything silently at a word of absolute command.

² In his stronghold near Pactye (Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 25).
XXXVII. Τὰῦτα δὲ λέγοντος τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, καὶ παραίνοντος εἰς Σηστὼν μεθορμίσαι τὸν στόλον, οὐ προσέχουν οἱ στρατηγοὶ. Τυδεῖς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ύβριν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχωρεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους στρατηγεῖν. ο ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑπονοήσας τι καὶ προδοσίας ἐν αὐτῶις ἀπῆλθε, καὶ τοῖς προπέμποντι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γυωρίμων ἔλεγεν ὅτι μὴ προπηλακίσθεις οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁλίγας ἂν ἡμέρας ἤνάγκασα δακεδαιμονίους διαναιμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀκόντας ἢ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιτεῖν. ἐδοκεῖ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀλαζονεύσατο, τοῖς δὲ εἰκότα λέγειν, εἰ Ὁρᾶκας ἐκ γῆς ἐπαγαγὼν πολλοὺς ἀκοντιστάς καὶ ἱππεῖς προσμάχοιτο καὶ διαταράττοι τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν.

"Οτι μέντοι τὰς ἀμάρτιας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅρθως συνεῖδε, ταχὺ τὸ ἔργον ἐμαρτύρησεν. ἀφγω γὰρ αὐτῶις καὶ ἀπορροφήτως τοῦ Δυσανδροῦ προσπεσόντος, ὁκτὼ μόνα συμβολεῖς ἐξέβλυγον μετὰ Κόνωνος, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι μικρὸν ἀπολείπουσαι διακοσίων ἀπήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι. τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τρισχιλίους ἔλων ζῶντας ἀπέσφαξεν ὁ Δύσανδρος. ἐναβέβη δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰς ναὺς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καθέλεν.

Εκ δὲ τοῦτον φοβηθεῖς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀρχοντας ἱδη καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τοὺς δακεδαιμονίους εἰς Βιθυνίαν μετέστη, πολλὰ μὲν ἄγων χρήματα, πολλὰ δὲ κομίζων, ἐπὶ δὲ πλεῖον καταλείπον ἐν ὁῖς οὐκ ἴμενε τείχεσιν. ἐν δὲ Βιθυνίᾳ πάλιν οὐκ ὁλίγα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολέσας καὶ περικοπεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔκει Θρηκῶν, ἔγνω μὲν ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς
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XXXVII. In spite of what Alcibiades said, and in spite of his advice to change their station to Sestos, the generals paid no heed. Tydeus actually insulted him by bidding him begone: he was not general now, but others. So Alcibiades departed, suspecting that some treachery was on foot among them. He told his acquaintances who were escorting him out of the camp that, had he not been so grievously insulted by the generals, within a few days he would have forced the Lacedaemonians to engage them whether they wished to do so or not, or else lose their ships. Some thought that what he said was arrant boasting; but others that it was likely, since he had merely to bring up his numerous Thracian javelineers and horsemen to assault by land and confound the enemy's camp.

However, that he saw only too well the errors of the Athenians the event soon testified. Lysander suddenly and unexpectedly fell upon them, and only eight of their triremes escaped with Conon; the rest, something less than two hundred, were captured and taken away. Three thousand of their crews were taken alive and executed by Lysander. In a short time\(^1\) he also captured Athens, burned her ships, and tore down her long walls.

Alcibiades now feared the Lacedaemonians, who were supreme on land and sea, and betook himself into Bithynia, taking booty of every sort with him, but leaving even more behind him in the fortress where he had been living. In Bithynia he again lost much of his substance, being plundered by the Thracians there, and so he determined to go up to the court of

\(^1\) In the spring of 404 B.C., some eight months later.
'Αρταξέρξην, ἕαυτὸν τε μὴ χείρονα Θεμιστοκλέους πειρωμένον βασιλεῖ φανεῖσθαι νομίζων, καὶ κρείττονα τὴν πρόφασιν οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ἐκεῖνου, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπογρήγησει καὶ δεήσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας δυνάμεως· εὐπορίαν δὲ τῆς ἀνόδου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας μάλιστα Φαρνάβαζον οἴόμενος παρέξειν, φῶτο, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Φρυγίαν, καὶ συνδύητες θεραπεύσων ἁμα καὶ τιμώμενος.

XXVIII. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν ἔφερον καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερηθέντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτῶν ὁ Δύσαιρος ἀνδράσι τριάκοντα παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο σώζεσθαι δυνάμεις λογισμοῖς, ἀπολωλότων ἢδη τῶν πραγμάτων, συνείσαν, ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ διεξόντες τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγνοίας, δὴν μεγίστην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν δευτέραν πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ὄργην. ἀπερρίφη γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄδικῶν αὐτὸς, ἀλλ’ ὑπηρέτη χαλεπτήνατες ὁλίγας ἀποβαλόντες νὰίς αἰσχρῶς, αἰσχιον αὐτοὶ τὸν κράτιστον καὶ πολεμικῶτατον ἀφεῖλοντο τῆς πόλεως στρατηγῶν. ἦτι δ’ οὖν ὅμως ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀνέφερε τις ἔπεις ἀμυνδρὰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἔρρειν τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀλκιβιάδου περιόντος· οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον ἡγάτησε φεύγων ἀπραγμόνως ξῆν καὶ μεθ’ ἥσυχιας, οὔτε νῦν, εἰ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἱκανὸς ἔχει, περιόψεται Δακεδαμονίους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα παρωνοῦντας.

3 Ταῦτα δ’ οὖκ ἦν ἁλογον οὕτως ὑνειροπολεῖν

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Artaxerxes. He thought to show himself not inferior to Themistocles if the King made trial of his services, and superior in his pretext for offering them. For it was not to be against his fellow countrymen, as in the case of that great man, but in behalf of his country that he would assist the King and beg him to furnish forces against a common enemy. Thinking that Pharnabazus could best give him facilities for safely making this journey up to the King, he went to him in Phrygia, and continued there with him, paying him court and receiving marks of honour from him.

XXXVIII. The Athenians were greatly depressed at the loss of their supremacy. But when Lysander robbed them of their freedom too, and handed the city over to thirty men, then, their cause being lost, their eyes were opened to the course they would not take when salvation was yet in their power. They sorrowfully rehearsed all their mistakes and follies, the greatest of which they considered to be their second outburst of wrath against Alcibiades. He had been cast aside for no fault of his own; but they got angry because a subordinate of his lost a few ships disgracefully, and then they themselves, more disgracefully still, robbed the city of its ablest and most experienced general. And yet, in spite of their present plight, a vague hope still prevailed that the cause of Athens was not wholly lost so long as Alcibiades was alive. He had not, in times past, been satisfied to live his exile's life in idleness and quiet; nor now, if his means allowed, would he tolerate the insolence of the Lacedaemonians and the madness of the Thirty.

It was not strange that the multitude indulged in
τοὺς πολλούς, ὃποτε καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα φροτή-
ζειν ἐπήγει καὶ διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ λόγον ἔχειν
πλείστον ὅν ἐκείνος ἔπραττε καὶ διενοεῖτο.
τέλος δὲ Κριτίας ἐδίδασκε Δύσανδρον ὡς Ἄθη-
nαϊῶν οὐκ ἔστι δημοκρατουμένων ἁσφαλῶς ἀρχεῖν
4 Δακεδαμονίων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἄθηναιόν δὲ,
καὶ πρῶς πάνυ καὶ καλῶς πρὸς ὠλιγαρχίαν
ἐχωσιν, οὐκ ἐάσει ξών Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀπρεμεῖν
ἐπὶ τῶν καθεστῶτων. οὐ μὴν ἐπείσθη γε πρό-
τερον τούτως ὁ Δύσανδρος ἢ παρὰ τῶν οἰκο
τελῶν σκυτάλην ἐλθεῖν κελεύουσαν ἐκ ποδῶν
ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, εἰτὲ κάκεινων
φοβηθέντων τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύ-
nην τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἰτὲ τῷ Ἀγίδε χαριζομένων.

XXXIX. Ὡς οὖν ὁ Δύσανδρος ἐπεμψε πρὸς
τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ταύτα πράττεν πελεύν, ὁ δὲ
Μαγαίῳ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Σουσαμίθρῃ τῷ θείῳ
προσέταξε τὸ ἔργον, ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν κόμῃ τινὶ
tῆς Φρυνίας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τότε διατώμενος,
ἔχων Τιμάνδραν μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐταίραν, ὡς
2 δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπονοιειδεῖς τοιαύτην ἐδόκει περι-
κεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔσθητα τῆς ἐταίρας,
ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχου-
sαν αὐτοῦ κοσμεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον ὧσπερ γυναικός
ὑπογράφουσαν καὶ ψιμπθοῦσαν. ἔτεροι δὲ φασιν
ἰδεῖν τὴν κεφαλήν ἀποτέμνοντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς περὶ
tὸν Μαγαίον ἐν τοῖς ὑπονοιοῖς καὶ τὸ σῶμα καἰ-
μενον. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ὧςιν οὐ πολὺ γενέσθαι
λέγουσι πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς.

Οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες πρὸς αὐτοῦ οὖν ἔτολμησαν
εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ τὴν οἰκίαν περιστάντες
3 ἐνεπημπράσαν. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τῶν

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such dreams, when even the Thirty were moved to anxious thought and inquiry, and made the greatest account of what Alcibiades was planning and doing. Finally, Critias tried to make it clear to Lysander that as long as Athens was a democracy the Lacedaemonians could not have safe rule over Hellas; and that Athens, even though she were very peacefully and well disposed towards oligarchy, would not be suffered, while Alcibiades was alive, to remain undisturbed in her present condition. However, Lysander was not persuaded by these arguments until a dispatch-roll came from the authorities at home bidding him put Alcibiades out of the way; either because they too were alarmed at the vigour and enterprise of the man, or because they were trying to gratify Agis.

XXXIX. Accordingly, Lysander sent to Pharnabazus and bade him do this thing, and Pharnabazus commissioned Magaeus, his brother, and Sousamithras, his uncle, to perform the deed. At that time Alcibiades was living in a certain village of Phrygia, where he had Timandra the courtezan with him, and in his sleep he had the following vision. He thought he had the courtezan’s garments upon him, and that she was holding his head in her arms while she adorned his face like a woman’s with paints and pigments. Others say that in his sleep he saw Magaeus’ followers cutting off his head and his body burning. All agree in saying that he had the vision not long before his death.

The party sent to kill him did not dare to enter his house, but surrounded it and set it on fire. When Alcibiades was aware of this, he gathered together
μὲν ἰματίων τὰ πλείστα καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων συναγαγὼν ἐπέρριψε τῷ πυρί, τῇ δ’ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὴν έαυτοῦ χλαμύδα περιελίξας, τῇ δεξιᾷ σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἔξεπεσεν ἀπαθῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς πρὶν ἡ διαφλέγεσθαι τὰ ἰμάτια, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὄφθεις διεσκέδασεν. ούδεις γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν αὐτὸν οὔτ’ εἰς χεῖρας συνήλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀποστάντες ἔβαλλον ἀκούτιοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν.

4 οὔτω δ’ αὐτοῦ πεσόντος καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπελθόντων, ἡ Τιμάνδρα τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνείλητο, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς περιβαλοῦσα καὶ περικαλύψασα χειτωνίσκοις, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐκήθευσε λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτιμώς.

Ταύτης λέγουσι θυγατέρα γενέσθαι Δαίδα τὴν Κορινθίαν μὲν προσαγορεύθησαν, ἐκ δὲ Ἂγκάρων, Σικελικοῦ πολίσματος, αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην.

5 ἐνοι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περὶ τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου τελευτῆς ὁμολογοῦσι τούτοις, αἰτιὰν δὲ φασιν οὐ Φαρνάβαζον οὐδὲ Λύσανδρον οὐδὲ Δακεδαμούνιος παρασχεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην γνωρίμων τινὸς διεφθαρκότα γύναιον ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ, τοὺς δ’ ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ γυναῖκα τὴν ύβρίν οὐ μετρῶς φέροντας ἐμπρήσατε τῇ τὴν οἰκίαν νύκτωρ, ἐν ἡ διαιτώμενος ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ καταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαλλόμενον.
most of the garments and bedding in the house and cast them on the fire. Then, wrapping his cloak about his left arm, and drawing his sword with his right, he dashed out, unscathed by the fire, before the garments were in flames, and scattered the Barbarians, who ran at the mere sight of him. Not a man stood ground against him, or came to close quarters with him, but all held aloof and shot him with javelins and arrows. Thus he fell, and when the Barbarians were gone, Timandra took up his dead body, covered and wrapped it in her own garments, and gave it such brilliant and honourable burial as she could provide.

This Timandra, they say, was the mother of that Lais who was called the Corinthian, although she was a prisoner of war from Hyccara, a small city of Sicily. But some, while agreeing in all other details of the death of Alcibiades with what I have written, say that it was not Pharnabazus who was the cause of it, nor Lysander, nor the Lacedaemonians, but Alcibiades himself. He had corrupted a girl belonging to a certain well known family, and had her with him; and it was the brothers of this girl who, taking his wanton insolence much to heart, set fire by night to the house where he was living, and shot him down, as has been described, when he dashed out through the fire.

1 See the Nicias, xv. 4.
CAIUS MARCIUS
CORIOLANUS
ΓΑΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΙΟΣ

I. Ὅ Μαρκίων οίκος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν πατρικίων πολλῶν παρέσχεν ἐνδόξους ἄνδρας, διὸ καὶ Μάρκιος ἦν Ἀγκος, ὁ Νομᾶθερατριδοῦς καὶ μετὰ Τύλλου Ὅστιλου βασιλεὺς γενόμενος. Μάρκιοι δὲ ἦσαν καὶ Πόπλιος καὶ Κόιντος οἱ πλεῖστον ὑδρω καὶ κάλλιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ καταγαγόντες, καὶ Κηνσερίνος, διὸ διὸ ἀπέδειξε τιμητὴν ὁ Ρωμαίων δήμος, εἶτα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεισθεὶς ἐκείνου νόμον ἔθετο καὶ ἐψηφίσατο μηδὲν τὴν 2 ἀρχὴν διὸ ἐξεῖναι μετελθεῖν. Γάιος δὲ Μάρκιος, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε γέγραπται, τραφεῖς ὑπὸ μητρὶ χήρα πατρός ὀρφανός, ἀπέδειξε τὴν ὀρφανίαν ἄλλα μὲν ἔχουσαν κακά, πρὸς δὲ τὸ γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον ἄνδρα καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν ἔμποδῶν οὕσαν, ἄλλως δὲ τοὺς φαύλους αἰτιάσθαι καὶ ψέγειν παρέχοσαν αὐτὴν ὡς ἀμελεία διαφθείρουσαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐμαρτύρησε καὶ τοῖς τὴν φύσιν ἱγουμένοις, ἐὰν οὕσα γενναία καὶ ἀγαθὴ παιδείας ἐνδεχὴς γένηται, πολλὰ τοὺς χρηστοῖς ὁμοῦ φαύλα συναποτίκτειν, ὀσπέρ εὐγενὴς χώραι ἐν γεωργίᾳ 3 θεραπείας μὴ τυχοῦσαν. τὸ γὰρ ἵσχυρὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀπάντα τῆς γυνώμης καὶ καρτερὸν ὀρμᾶς τε μεγάλας καὶ τελεσίουργοις τῶν καλῶν ἐξέφερε, 118
CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS

I. The patrician house of the Marcii at Rome furnished many men of distinction. One of them was Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter, and the successor of Tullus Hostilius in the kingship. To this family belonged also Publius and Quintus Marcius, the men who brought into Rome its best and most abundant supply of water. So likewise did Censorinus, whom the Roman people twice appointed censor, and then, at his own instance, made a law by which it was decreed that no one should hold that office twice. Caius Marcius, whose life I now write, lost his father at an early age, and was reared by his widowed mother. He showed, however, that such loss of a father, although otherwise bad for a boy, need not prevent him from becoming a worthy and excellent man, and that it is wrong for worthless men to lay upon it the blame for their perverted natures, which are due, as they say, to early neglect. On the other hand, the same Marcius bore witness for those who hold that a generous and noble nature, if it lack discipline, is apt to produce much that is worthless along with its better fruits, like a rich soil deprived of the husbandman's culture. For while the force and vigour of his intelligence, which knew no limitations, led him into great undertakings, and such as were productive of the highest results, still, on the other hand, since he
θυμοῖς τε αὐτοὶ πάλιν χρώμενον ἀκράτοις καὶ φιλο-
υεικίαις ἀτρέπτοις οὐ δρᾶσιν οὐδὲ εἰνάρμοστον
ἀνθρώποις συνεϊναι παρείχεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ἡδοναῖς
καὶ τόνοις καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀπάθειαν αὐτοῦ
θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἁυμόμαζοντες ἐγκράτειαν καὶ
dικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀνδρείαν, ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς αὐτοὺς
πάλιν ὁμολογίαις ὡς ἐπαχθῇ καὶ ἄχαρι καὶ
οἴνογαρχικὴν ἔνδοξήραινον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο
Μουσῶν εὑμενείας ἀπολαύσειν ἀνθρωποὶ τοσοῦ-
τον ὡςν ἔξημερώσαι τὴν φύσιν ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ
παιδείας, τὸ λόγῳ δεξαμένην τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ
ἀγαν ἀποβαλοῦσαν. Ὁδὼς μὲν ἦν τοῖς τότε
χρόνοις ἡ Ῥώμη μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ περὶ
tὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ στρατιωτικὰς ἐκδάφειν πράξεις,
καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς
ἀνδρείας ὑφόματι προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τῷ
gένοις ὀνομα κοινῶν ὑπάρχει οὗ τὴν ἀνδρείαν
ἰδία καλοῦσιν.

II. Ὅ δὲ Μάρκιος ἐτέρων μᾶλλον ἐμπαθὴς
γεγονὼς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἁγώνας, εὐθὺς ἐκ
παιδὸς τὰ ὅπλα διὰ χειρὸς εἶχε, καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
κτήτων οὐδὲν ἔργων οἴομενος εἶναι τοῖς μὴ
tὸ σύμφυτον ὅπλον καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐξηρτυμένοιν ἔχουσι
καὶ παρεσκευασμένον, οὕτως Ἰοκηστὴ τὸ σῶμα
πρὸς ἅπασαν ἰδέαν μάχης ὡστε καὶ θεῖον ἑλα-
φῶν εἶναι καὶ βάρος ἐχεῖν ἐν λαβαῖς καὶ ἐν
διαπάλαις πολέμου δυσκεβίαστον. οἱ γοῦν ἐρω
ἔχουσιν εὐπυχίας ἀεὶ καὶ ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐν
οἷς ἐλείποντο, τὴν τοῦ σῶματος ὑτίωντο ρώμην
ἀτρέπτον ὕσταν καὶ πρὸς μηδένα πόνον ἀπαγ-
ορεύουσαν.
indulged a vehement temper and displayed an unswerving pertinacity, it made him a difficult and unsuitable associate for others. They did indeed look with admiration upon his insensibility to pleasures, toils, and mercenary gains, to which they gave the names of self-control, fortitude, and justice; but in their intercourse with him as a fellow-citizen they were offended by it as ungracious, burdensome, and arrogant. Verily, among all the benefits which men derive from the favour of the Muses, none other is so great as that softening of the nature which is produced by culture and discipline, the nature being induced by culture to take on moderation and cast off excess. It is perfectly true, however, that in those days Rome held in highest honour that phase of virtue which concerns itself with warlike and military achievements, and evidence of this may be found in the only Latin word for virtue, which signifies really manly valour; they made valour, a specific form of virtue, stand for virtue in general.

II. And so Marcius, who was by nature exceedingly fond of warlike feats, began at once, from his very boyhood, to handle arms. And since he thought that adventitious weapons were of little avail to such as did not have their natural and native armour developed and prepared for service, he so practised himself in every sort of combat that he was not only nimble of foot, but had also such a weight in grappling and wrestlings that an enemy found it hard to extricate himself. At any rate, those who from time to time contended with him in feats of courage and valour, laid the blame for their inferiority upon his strength of body, which was inflexible and shrank from no hardship.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

III. Ἀστρατεύσατο δὲ πρῶτην στρατεύαν ἐτί μειράκιον, ὅτε Ταρκυνὼς τῷ βασιλεύσαντι τῆς 'Ῥώμης, εἶτα ἐκπεσόντι, μετὰ πολλὰς μάχας καὶ ἁττας ὀσπερ ἐσχατὸν κύβον ἀφιέντι πλείστοι μὲν Λατῖνοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰταλωτῶν συνελάμβαναν καὶ συγκατῆκαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐκ ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἡ φόβῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐξόμενα καὶ φθόνοι καταβάλλοντες.

2 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πολλὰς τροπὰς ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα λαμβανόμενη Μάρκιος ἀγωνιζόμενος εὐρόως ἐν ὁψεῖ τοῦ δικτάτορος, ἀνδρά 'Ῥωμαίων πεσόντα πλησίον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐστή πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον τῶν πολεμίων ἀμυνόμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ὡς οὖν ἐκράτησεν ὁ στρατηγός, ἐν πρώτοις ἐκείνων ἔστεφάνωσε δρυὸς στεφάνῳ.

3 Τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ νόμος τῷ πολίτῃ ὑπερασπίσαντι τὸν στέφανον ἀπώδεδωκεν, εἰτε δὴ μάλιστα τιμήσας δι’ Ἀρκάδας τὴν δρῶν βαλανηφάγους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμὸ προσαγορευθέντας, εἰτε ὡς ταχῦ καὶ πανταχοῦ δρῦς οὖσαν εὐποριῶν στρατευομένως, εἰτε Δίως πολίεως ἱερῶν ὄντα τὸν τῆς δρῦς στέφανον οἰόμενος ἐπὶ σωτηρία πολίτου δίδοσθαι πρεπόντως. ἔστι δὲ ἡ δρῦς τῶν μὲν ἀγρίων καλλικαρπότατων, τῶν δὲ τιθασῶν ἱσχυ- Ῥότατον. ἥν δὲ καὶ σιτίων ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἡ βάλανος καὶ ποτὸν τὸ μελέτειον, ὄψον δὲ παρεῖχε τὰ

1 By Lake Regillus, 498 (?) B.C.
2 Early colonists of Rome, under Evander.
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III. He made his first campaign while yet a stripling, when Tarquin, who had been king of Rome, and then had been expelled, after many unsuccessful battles, staked his all, as it were, upon a final throw. Most of the people of Latium and many also of the other peoples of Italy were assisting him and marching with him upon Rome, to reinstate him there, not so much from a desire to gratify him, as because fear and envy led them to try to overthrow the growing power of the Romans. In the ensuing battle,¹ which long favoured now this side and now that, Marcius, who was fighting sturdily under the eyes of the dictator, saw a Roman soldier struck down near by. He ran to him at once, stood in front of him, defended him, and slew his assailant. Accordingly, after the Roman general had won the day, he crowned Marcius, among the first, with a garland of oak leaves.

This is the civic crown which the law bestows upon one who has saved the life of a fellow-citizen in battle, either because the oak was held in special honour for the sake of the Arcadians,² who were called acorn-eaters in an oracle of Apollo³; or because they could speedily find an abundance of oak wherever they fought; or because it was thought that the garland of oak leaves, being sacred to Jupiter, the city’s guardian, was fittingly bestowed upon one who saved the life of a citizen. The oak, moreover, has the most beautiful fruit of all wild trees, and is the sturdiest of all trees under cultivation. Its acorn used to be food, and the honey found in it used to be drink⁴ for men, and it furnished them with the flesh of most grazing

¹ Cf. Herodotus, i. 66. ⁴ In the shape of mead.
πλείστα τῶν νεμομένων τε καὶ πτημών, θῆρας ὄργανον φέρουσα τῶν ἵζων.

'Ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς Διοσκοῦρους ἐπιφανῆναι λέγουσι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς 215 ὀφθήναι ἰσχύοντος ἱδρῶτι τοῖς ἰπποῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὴν νίκην ἀπαγγέλλοντας, οὐ μὴν παρὰ τὴν κρή-νην νεός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἰδρυμένος. Ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπινίκιον οὗτοι, ἐν τῷ Ἰουλίῳ μηνὶ τῶν εἰδούς, Διοσκοῦροι ἀνεφώκασι.

IV. Νέων δὲ, ὡς ἐοικεῖν, ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφάνεια καὶ τιμὴ τὰς μὲν ἑλαφρῶς φιλοτίμους φύσεις προιαίτερον παραγενομένη σβέννυσι, καὶ ἀποπτιμπλησὶ ταχὺ τὸ διψῶδες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀψίκορον ταῦτ' ἐμβριθῇ καὶ βέβαια φρουήματα αὐξοῦσιν αἰ τιμαὶ καὶ λαμπρύνουσιν ὅσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐγερόμενα πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον καλὸν. οὐ γὰρ ὃς μισθὸν ἀπολαμβάνοντες, ἀλλ' ὃς ἐνέχωρον διδόντες αἰσχύνονται τὴν δόξαν καταλιπεῖν καὶ μη τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔργοις ὑπερβαλέσθαι.

2 τοῦτο παθὼν καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ζηλῶν ἀνδραγαθίας προοίηκε, κατ' ὃς τε ἀεὶ βουλόμενος εἶναι ταῖς πράξεις ἀριστείας ἁριστείας συνῄητε καὶ λάφυρα λαφύρος ἐπέφερε, καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀεὶ τοὺς υπέροχος ἑγαμόνας εἰχε περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς ἐρίζοντας, καὶ μαρτυρίας ὑπερβαλέσθαι. 1

3 Ην δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἡ δόξα τῆς ἀρετῆς τέλος, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἡ τῆς μητρὸς εὐφροσύνη. τὸ

1 καὶ μαρτυρίας ὑπερβαλέσθαι bracketed by Bekker.

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creatures and birds, since it bore the mistletoe, from which they made bird-lime for snares.

In the battle of which I was speaking, it is said that Castor and Pollux appeared, and that immediately after the battle they were seen, their horses all a-drip with sweat, in the forum, announcing the victory, by the fountain where their temple now stands. Therefore the day on which this victory was won, the Ides of July, was consecrated to the Dioscuri.

IV. It would seem that when a young man's ambition is no integral part of his nature, it is apt to be quenched by an honourable distinction which is attained too early in life; his thirst and fastidious appetite are speedily satisfied. But serious and firm spirits are stimulated by the honours they receive, and glow brightly, as if roused by a mighty wind to achieve the manifest good. They do not feel that they are receiving a reward for what they have done, but rather that they are giving pledges of what they will do, and they are ashamed to fall behind their reputation instead of surpassing it by their actual exploits. It was in this spirit that Marcius vied with himself in manly valour, and being ever desirous of fresh achievement, he followed one exploit with another, and heaped spoils upon spoils, so that his later commanders were always striving with their predecessors in their efforts to do him honour, and to surpass in their testimonials to his prowess. Many indeed were the wars and conflicts which the Romans waged in those days, and from none did he return without laurels and rewards of valour.

But whereas other men found in glory the chief end of valour, he found the chief end of glory in his mother's gladness. That she should hear him praised
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γάρ ἐκείνην ἐπαινοῦμενον ἀκούσας καὶ στεφανοῦμενον ἰδεῖν καὶ περιβαλεῖν δακρύουσαν ύφ’ ἱδονῆς ἐντιμότατον αὐτοῦ ἐνόμιζε ποιεῖν καὶ μακαριώτατον. τούτο δ’ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν φασίν ἐξομολογήσασθαι τὸ πάθος, εὐτυχίαν ποιοῦμενον αὐτοῦ μεγίστην ὅτι τὴν ἐν Δεύκτρους στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ νίκην ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ 4 ἐτὶ ξύντες ἐπείδον. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἀπέλαυσε τῶν γονέων συνηδομένων καὶ συνενθμερούντων, Μάρκιος δὲ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς ὀφείλειν χάριτας οἰόμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλατο τὴν Οὐσομώμιαν εὐφραίνων καὶ τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκα βουλομένης καὶ δεομένης ἐκεῖνης, ἡγημ. καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὅκει γενομένων παίδων ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῆς μητρός.

V. Ἡδη δὲ καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγάλην ἔχοντος, ἡ βουλή τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀμύνουσα πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἑστασίας πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν δοκοῦντα. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κεκτημένους μέτρια πάντων ἄφησεν τῶν δύο ἐνεχυρασμοῖς καὶ πράσει, τοὺς δὲ παντελῶς ἀπόρους αὐτοὺς ἀπῆγγελεν καὶ τὰ σώματα καθεργυσαν αὐτῶν, ὦτειλας ἔχοντα τετρωμένων πολλὰς καὶ πεποιη-2 κότων ἐν ταῖς ὑπ’ ὑπ’ τῆς πατρίδος στρατείαις, διὸ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐδέξαντο πρὸς Σαβίνους, τῶν τε πλούσιοι πολλάττων ἐπαγγειλαμένων μετρίασεν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν ἀρχοντα Μάρκου Ουαλλέριον ἐγγυήσασθαι ψηφισμένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακεῖνην ἀγωνισμένης τῇ μάχῃ προθύμως καὶ κρατή-

1 δεομένης ἐκείνης with Ma: δεομένης.
and see him crowned and embrace him with tears of joy, this was what gave him, as he thought, the highest honour and felicity. And it was doubtless this feeling which Epaminondas also is said to have confessed, in considering it his greatest good fortune that his father and mother lived to know of his generalship and victory at Leuctra. But he was so blessed as to have both his parents share in his pleasure and success, whereas Marcius, who thought he owed his mother the filial gratitude also which would have been due to his father, could not get his fill of gladdening and honouring Volumnia, nay, he even married according to her wish and request, and continued to live in the same house with his mother after children were born to him.

V. The reputation and influence procured by his valour were already great in the city, when the senate, taking the part of the wealthy citizens, began to be at variance with the common people, who thought they suffered many grievous ills at the hands of the money-lenders. For those of them that were possessed of moderate means were stripped of all they had by means of pledges and sales, while those who were altogether without resources were led away in person and put in prison, although their bodies bore many marks of wounds received and hardships undergone in campaigns for the defence of their country. The last of these had been against the Sabines, and they had undertaken it upon a promise of their wealthiest creditors to deal moderately with them, and after a vote of the senate that Marcus Valerius, the consul, should guarantee the promise. But after they had fought zealously in that battle also, and had conquered the enemy, no
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σασι τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο παρὰ τῶν 3 δανειστῶν ἐπιεικές, οὐδ' ἡ βουλή προσεποιεῖτο μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὁμολογημένων, ἀλλ' ἀγομένους πάλιν περιεώρα καὶ ρυσιαξομένους, θόρυβοι δὲ καὶ συντάσσεις ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πονηραί, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔλαβε ταραχωδῶς ἔχων ὁ δήμος, ἀλλ' ἐμβαλόντες ἐπιτρόπους τὴν χώραν, τῶν δ' ἄρχοντων εἰς τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς, ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καλούντων οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουν, οὕτω διεστησαν αἱ 4 γνώμαι πάλιν τῶν ἐν τέλει. καὶ τινὲς μὲν φύτον δεῖν υφίσθαι τοῖς πένησι καὶ χαλάσαι τὸ σύντονον ἀγαν καὶ νόμημον, ἐναυὶ δ' ἀντέτεινον, ἡν' ἦν καὶ Μάρκιος, οὐ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων μέγιστον ἥγομενος, ἄρχην δὲ καὶ πείραν ὑβρεως ὀχλου καὶ θρασύτητος ἐπανισταμένου τοῖς νόμοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πάνειν καὶ σβενυνεῖν παρακελευό-μενος.

VI. Συνιούσης δὲ περὶ τούτων πολλάκις ἐν ὅλῳ χρόνῳ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ. μηδὲν τέλος ἐκ-φερούσης, συστάντες οἱ πένητας ἄφω καὶ παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀπέλιπτον τῆς πόλιν, καὶ καταλαβόντες ὅρος δ' νῦν ἱερὸν καλεῖται, παρὰ τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμὸν ἐκαθέζωτο, πράττοντες μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον οὐδὲ στασιαστικόν, ἐκπεπτωκέναι δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων πάλαι βοώντες, ἀέρα δὲ καὶ υδῷρ καὶ τόπον ἐνταφῆναι πανταχοῦ 2 τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῦς παρέξειν, ὃν πλέον οὐδὲν οἰκούσι τῇ Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἡ τιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνησκεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλουσίων στρατευομένους.

Ταῦτ' ἐδεισεν ἡ βουλή, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς
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consideration was shown them by their creditors, and the senate did not even pretend to remember its agreements, but again suffered them to be seized in pledge of payments and haled away to prison. Then there were tumults and disorderly gatherings in the city, and the enemy, not unaware of the popular confusion, burst in and ravaged the country, and when the consuls summoned those of military age to arms, no one responded. In this crisis, the opinions of those in authority were again at variance. Some thought that concessions should be made to the plebeians, and the excessive rigor of the law relaxed; but others opposed this, and among them was Marcius. He did not regard the financial difficulties as the main point at issue, and exhorted the magistrates to be wise enough to check and quell this incipient attempt at bold outrage on the part of a populace in revolt against the laws.

VI. The senate met to debate this question many times within the space of a few days, but came to no definite conclusion. The plebeians therefore banded together on a sudden, and after mutual exhortations forsook the city, and taking possession of what is now called the Sacred Mount, established themselves beside the river Anio.¹ They committed no acts of violence or sedition, but only cried aloud that they had for a long time been banished from the city by the rich, and that Italy would everywhere afford them air, water, and a place of burial, which was all they had if they dwelt in Rome, except for the privilege of wounds and death in campaigns for the defence of the rich.

These proceedings alarmed the senate, and it sent

¹ Three miles from the city (Livy, ii. 32, 2).
μάλιστα καὶ δημοτικοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχαστε ἐστείλε. προηγόρει δὲ Μενήνιος Ἀγρίππας· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τού δήμου δεόμενος, πολλὰ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς παρησιαζόμενος τελευτῶντι τῷ λόγῳ περιήλθεν εἰς σχῆμα μύθου διαμνημονεύμενον.

3 ἕφη γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὰ μέλη πάντα πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα στασιάσαι, καὶ κατηγορεῖν αὐτῆς ὡς μόνης ἀργοῦ καὶ ἀσυμβόλου καθεξομένης ἐν τῷ σώματι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἰς τὰς ἐκεῖνης ὁρέξεις πόνους τε μεγάλους καὶ λειτουργίας ὑπομενόντων· τὴν δὲ γαστέρα τῆς εὐθείας αὐτῶν καταγελᾶν, ἀγνοοῦντον ὅτι τὴν τροφὴν ὑπολαμβάνει μὲν εἰς ἐαυτὴν ἀπασαν, ἀναπέμπει δ᾽ αὖθις εἰς αὐτής καὶ 4 διανέμει τοῖς ἄλλοις. “Οὔτως οὖν,” ἐφη, “καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου λόγος ἔστιν, ὡς πολῖται, πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τυγχάνοντα τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ οἰκονομίας βουλεύματα καὶ πράγματα πάσων ὑμᾶς ἐπιφέρει καὶ διανέμει τὸ κρήσιμον καὶ ὀφέλιμον.”

VII. Ἑκ τούτου διηλλάγησαν, αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τυχόντες ἀνδρὰς αἰρεῖσθαι πέντε προστάτας τῶν δεομένων βοηθείας, τοὺς νῦν δημάρχους καλουμένους. εἶλοντο δὲ πρῶτοις, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἤγεμόσι, τοὺς περὶ Βροῦτον Ἰούνιον καὶ Σικύνιον Βέλλουτον. ἔπει δ᾽ ἡ πόλις εἰς ἑν ἤλθεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦσαν οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ παρεῖχον αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσι χρήσθαι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

2 Ὅ δὲ Μάρκιος οὖτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἡδόμενος οἷς ὁ δήμος

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out those of its older members who were most reasonably disposed towards the people to treat with them. The chief spokesman was Menenius Agrippa, and after much entreaty of the people and much plain speaking in behalf of the senate, he concluded his discourse with a celebrated fable. He said, namely, that all the other members of man's body once revolted against the belly, and accused it of being the only member to sit idly down in its place and make no contribution to the common welfare, while the rest underwent great hardships and performed great public services only to minister to its appetites; but that the belly laughed at their simplicity in not knowing that it received into itself all the body's nourishment only to send it back again and duly distribute it among the other members. "Such, then," said Agrippa, "is the relation of the senate, my fellow-citizens, to you; the matters for deliberation which there receive the necessary attention and disposition bring to you all and severally what is useful and helpful." ¹

VII. A reconciliation followed, after the people had asked and obtained from the senate the privilege of electing five men as protectors of those who needed succour, the officers now called tribunes of the people. And the first whom they chose to this office were Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus, who had been their leaders in the secession.² When the city was thus united, the common people at once offered themselves as soldiers, and the consuls found them ready and eager for service in the war.

As for Marcius, though he was displeased himself

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 32, 9-11; Dionysius Hal., Antiq. Rom. vi. 86.
² Cf. Livy, ii. 33, 1-3.
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ισχυνεν ἐνδούσης τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων πολλοὺς ὁρῶν τὸ αὐτὸ πεποιθότας, ὡμοις παρεκάλει μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγώσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἁρέτῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντας αὐτῶν.

VIII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὀὐκολύσκων ἔθνει, πρὸς οὖς ἐπολέμουν, ἡ Κοριολανῶν πόλις ἀξίωμα μέγιστον εἶχε. ταῦταν οὖν τοῦ ὑπάτου Κομινίου περιστρατοπεδεύσαντος, οἱ λοιποὶ Ὀυκολύσκων δείσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεβοήθουσιν πανταχόθεν, ὡς πρὸς τῇ πόλιν ποιησόμενοι μάχην καὶ 2 διεχόθεν ἐπιχειρήσαντες αὐτοῖς. ἔπει δ’ ὁ Κομίνιος διελθὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπῆγα τοῖς ἐξωθεὶς ἔπιούσι τῶν Ὀυκολύσκων, Λάρκιον δὲ Τίτον, ἀνδρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλυσε, καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Κοριολανῶι τῶν παρόντων ἐπεξηλθοῦν, καὶ προσμαχομενοὶ τὸ πρώτον ἕκράτουν καὶ κατεκόπων εἰς 3 τῶν χάρακα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐνθα δὴ Μάρκιος ἐκδραμὼν σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ καταβαλὼν τοὺς προσμίζαντας αὐτῷ μάλιστα, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους στήσας ἐπιφερομένους, ἀνεκαλέσας μεγάλῃ βοή τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. καὶ γὰρ ἦν, ὅσπερ ἤξιον τὸν στρατιῶτην ὁ Κάτων, οὗ χειρὶ καὶ πληγή μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόνῳ φωνῆς καὶ ὁψεὶ προσώπου φοβορὸς ἐντυχεῖν πολεμίω καὶ δυσυπόστατος. ἀθροιζόμενων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ συνισταμένων περὶ 4 αὐτῶν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ πολέμοι δείσαντες. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπηκολούθει καὶ συνήλαυνεν

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to have the people increase in power at the expense of the aristocracy, and though he saw that many of the other patricians were of the same mind, he nevertheless exhorted them not to fall behind the common people in contending for their country's welfare, but to show that they were superior to them in valour rather than in political power.

VIII. Among the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war, the city of Corioli took highest rank. When, therefore, Cominius the consul had invested this place, the rest of the Volscians, fearing for its safety, came to its aid against the Romans from all parts, designing to give them battle in front of the city and to attack them on both sides. Thereupon Cominius divided his forces, going forth himself to meet the Volscians who were coming up outside, and leaving Titus Lartius, one of the bravest Romans of his day, in charge of the siege. Then the men of Corioli, despising the forces that were left, sallied out against them, overcame them in battle at first, and pursued the Romans to their camp. At this point Marcius darted out with a small band, and after slaying those who came to close quarters and bringing the rest of the assailants to a halt, called the Romans back to the fight with loud cries. For he had, as Cato thought a soldier should have, not only a vigour of stroke, but a voice and look which made him a fearful man for a foe to encounter, and hard to withstand. Many of his men rallied to support him, and the enemy withdrew in terror. With this, however, he was not satisfied, but followed

1 It is in connection with the attack on Corioli that Livy first mentions Marcius (ii. 33, 5–9); also Dionysius Hal. (vi. 92). 2 Cf. Cato the Elder, i. 6.
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ηδη προτροπάδην φεύγοντας ἀχρὶ τῶν πυλῶν. ἐκεῖ δ’ ὄρων ἀποτρεπομένους τοῦ διώκειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πολλῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βελῶν προσφερομένων, τὸ δὲ συνεισπέσειν τοῖς φεύγον-σιν εἰς πόλεως ἀνδρῶν πολεμικῶν γέμουσαν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλω δυντών οὐδενὸς εἰς νοὺν ἐμβαλέσθαι τολμῶντος, ὅμως ἔπιστάς παρεκάλει καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν, ἀνεῴχθαι βοῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τοῖς διώκουσι μάλλον ἢ τοῖς φεύγονσι τὴν πόλιν.

5 οὐ πολλῶν δὲ βουλομένων ἐπακολουθεῖν, ὡσά-μενος διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνήλιατο ταῖς πύλαις καὶ συνεισέπτεσε, μηδὲνος τὸ πρῶτον ἀντισχεῖν μηδ’ ὑποστήναι τολμήσαντος, ἔπειτα δὲ, ὡς κατείδου ὀλίγους παντάπασιν ἐνδοὺς ὄντας, συμβοηθοῦντων καὶ προσμαχομένων, ἀναμεμιγμένος ὁμοί φίλοις καὶ πολεμίως ἀπιστῶν ἁγώνα λέγεται καὶ χειρὸς ἔργοις καὶ ποδῶν τάχει καὶ τολμήσας ψυχῆς ἁγωνιζόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ κρατῶν ἀπάντων πρὸς ὅδε ὅροις, τοὺς μὲν ἐξώσαι πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα μέρη, τῶν δ’ ἀπευθαμένων καὶ καταβαλόντων τὰ ὄπλα πολλὴν ἀδειαν τῷ Δαρκίῳ παρασχεῖν ἐξωθεὶν ἐπάγοντι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

6 ΙΧ. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐν ἀρταγάζον ὄντων καὶ διαφορήσεις χρημάτων, ὁ Μάρκιος ἤγανάκτει καὶ ἔβοα, δεινῶν ἦγονμενος, τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ τῶν σὺν ἐκείνω πολιτῶν τάχα που συμπεπτωκότων τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διαμαχομένων, αὐτοῦς χρηματίζεσθαι περι- λόντας ἢ προφάσει χρηματισμοῦ τῶν κίνδυνον ἀποδιδράσκειν. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐ πολλοὶ προσείρον

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hard upon them, and drove them at last in headlong flight, up to the gate of their city. There, although he saw the Romans turning back from the pursuit, now that many missiles from the walls were reaching them, and although not a man of them dared to think of bursting into the city along with the fugitives, full as it was of enemies in arms, he nevertheless took his stand, and exhorted and encouraged them to the exploit, crying out that fortune had opened the city for the pursuers rather than for the pursued. Only a few were willing to follow him, but he pushed his way through the enemy, leaped against the gate, and burst in along with them, no man daring to oppose him at first or resist him. Then, however, when the citizens saw that few of the enemy all told were inside, they rallied and attacked them. Enveloped thus by friends and foes alike, Marcius is said to have waged a combat in the city which, for prowess of arm, speed of foot, and daring of soul, passes all belief; he overwhelmed all whom he assailed, driving some to the remotest parts of the city, while others gave up the struggle and threw down their arms. Thus he made it abundantly safe for Lartius to lead up the Romans who were outside.

IX. The city having been captured in this manner, most of the soldiers fell to plundering and pillaging it. At this Marcius was indignant, and cried out that he thought it a shame, when their consul and their fellow citizens who were with him had perhaps fallen in with the enemy and were fighting a battle with them, that they on their part should be going about after booty, or, under pretext of getting booty, should run away from the danger. Only a few paid
αὐτῷ, τοὺς βουλομένους ἀναλαβῶν ἐβάδιζε τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ τὸ στράτευμα προκεχωρηκός ἦσθετο, πολλάκις μὲν ἐποτρύνων τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ παρακαλῶν μὴ ἐνδιδόναι, πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμενος μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς μάχης, ἀλλ’ εἰς καιρὸν ἔλθειν ἐν ὧν συναγωνιζόταν καὶ συγκινοῦντας τοὺς πολίτας.

Ἡν δὲ τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένοις καὶ μέλλουσι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ περιζώννυσθαι τὴν τήβενον ἁμα καὶ διαθήκας ἄγραφους γίνεσθαι, τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων ἐπακούοντων ὅνομάζοντας τὸν κληρονόμον. 3 ταύτα δὴ πράττοντας ἤδη τοὺς στρατιώτας Μάρκιος ἐν ὁψεί τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων κατελάμβανε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνίους διετάραξεν ὁφθεῖς μετ’ ὅλιγων, αἵματος περὶπλεως καὶ ἱδρῶτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσδραμῶν τῷ ὑπάρχῃ περιχαρῆς τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπήγγειλε τὴν ἀλώσιν, ὃ δὲ Κομίνους περιπτύξατο αὐτὸν καὶ κατησπάσατο, τοῖς μὲν πυθομένοις τὸ γεγενημένον κατόρθωμα, τοῖς δὲ εἰκάσασι τάρσος παρέστη, καὶ βοή παρεκάλουν ἄγειν 4 καὶ συνάπτειν. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἠρώτησε τὸν Κομίνου πῶς διακεκόσμηται τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὅπλα καὶ ποῦ τέτακται τὸ μαχιμώτατον. ἐκείνου δὲ φῆσαντός οἶεσθαι τὰς κατὰ μέσον στείρας Ἀντιατῶν εἶναι, πολεμικωτάτων καὶ μηδενὶ φρονήματος υφιμενέων, “Ἀξίω σε τοῖνοι,” ὁ Μάρκιος ἔφη, “καὶ αὐτοῦμαι, κατὰ τούτους τάξιν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνδρὰς.” ἔδωκεν οὖν ὃ ὑπάτος, θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόθυμον.

5 Ὅς δὲ ἦσαν ἐμβολαὶ θεράτων, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκίου
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any heed to his words, whereupon he took those who were willing to follow, and set out on the road by which, as he learned, the consul’s army had marched before him, often urging his companions on and beseeching them not to slacken their efforts, and often praying the gods that he might not be too late for the battle, but might come up in season to share in the struggles and perils of his fellow-citizens.

It was a custom with the Romans of that time, when they were going into action, and were about to gird up their cloaks and take up their bucklers, to make at the same time an unwritten will, naming their heirs in the hearing of three or four witnesses. This was just what the soldiers were doing when Marcius overtook them, the enemy being now in sight. At first some of them were confounded when they saw that he had a small following and was covered with blood and sweat; but when he ran to the consul with a glad countenance, gave him his hand, and announced the capture of the city, and when Cominius embraced and kissed him, then they were encouraged, some hearing of the success which had been gained, and some but guessing at it, and all called loudly upon the consul to lead them into battle. But Marcius asked Cominius how the enemy were arrayed, and where their best fighting men were placed. And when the consul told him he thought the troops in the centre were those of the Antiates, who were the most warlike of all and yielded to none in bravery, “I ask and demand of you, then,” said Marcius, “post us opposite these men.” The consul, accordingly, granted his request, astonished at his ardour.

As soon as spears began to fly, Marcius darted out
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ Η ΚΑΤΑΔΕΙΚΝΥΣΕΙΣ ΜΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΑΝΤΕΣΧΟΥ ΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΟΜΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΝΟΛΟΥΣΚΩΝ, ἈΛΛ' ὩΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΜΙΣΧΕ ΜΕΡΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΦΆΛΑΓΓΟΣ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΔΙΕΚΕΚΟΠΤΟ, ΤΩΝ ὩΝ ἘΚΑΤΕΡΩΘΕΝ ἘΠΙΣΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ὈΠΛΟΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ, ΔΕΙΣΑΣ Ὀ ΥΨΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΝ ἘΠΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΞΈΠΕΜΠΕΝ. ἸΣΧΥΡΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΜΆΡΚΙΟΝ ΜΆΧΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΝ ΟΛΥΓΗ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΠΕΣΟΝΤΩΝ, ἘΓΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΒΙΑΞΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ ΕΞΟΣΑΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΤΡΕΠΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΩΧΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΆΡΚΙΟΝ ἩΞΙΟΥΝ ὙΠΟ ΤΕ ΚΑΜΑΤΟΥ ΒΑΡΘΥ ΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΩΝ ἈΝΑΧΩΡΕΙΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ. ΕΙΠΟΝ Ὁ ἘΚΕΪΝΟΣ ΩΤΙ ΝΙΚΩΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΚΆΜΝΕΙΝ, ἘΦΕΙΤΕΤΟ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΕΥΓΟΝΣΙΝ. ὩΤΤΗΘΗ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΣΤΡΆΤΕΥΜΑ, ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΑ- ΦΘΑΡΕΝΤΩΝ, ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΔΕ ἈΛΟΝΤΩΝ.

X. ΤΗΣ Ὁ ΨΥΤΕΡΑΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΆΡΚΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΑΘΡΟΙΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΥΨΑΤΟΝ, ἍΝΑΒΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΕΠΟΝ- ΣΑΝ ἈΠΟΔΟΥΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΛΙΚΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΥΦΗΜΙΑΝ, ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΜΆΡΚΙΟΝ ΤΡΕΠΕΤΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟΝ ἘΠΑΙΝΟΥ ΕΙΠΕ, ΤΟΥΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΜΆΧΗ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΤΗΣ, ΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ

2 ΔΆΡΚΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΝΤΟΣ. ΕΞΕΙΤΑ, ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΧΡΗ- ΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ἘΠΠΟΥ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝ ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ, ἘΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ἘΞΕΛΕΘΑΙ ΔΕΚΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥΝ ΝΕΜΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ. ἌΝΕΥ ΔΕ ἘΚΕΪΝΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΕΚΟΣΜΗΜΕΝΟΝ ἘΠΠΟΝ ἘΔΩΡΗΣΑΤΟ. ΤΟΝ ΔΕ 'ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ἘΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΝΤΩΝ Ο ΜΆΡΚΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΕΛΘΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ἘΠΠΟΝ ἘΦΗ ΔΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ

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before the line, and the Volscians who faced him could not withstand his charge, but where he fell upon their ranks they were speedily cut asunder. Those on either side, however, wheeled about and encompassed him with their weapons, so that the consul, fearing for his safety, sent to his aid the choicest men he had about his person. Then a fierce battle raged around Marcius, and many were slain in short space of time; but the Romans pressed hard upon their enemies and put them to rout, and as they set out in pursuit of them, they insisted that Marcius, who was weighed down with fatigue and wounds, should retire to the camp. He answered, however, that weariness was not for victors, and took after the flying foe. The rest of their army also was defeated, many were slain, and many taken captive.¹

X. On the following day, when Lartius had come up, and the rest of the army was assembled before the consul, Cominius mounted the rostra, and after rendering to the gods the praise that was their due for such great successes, addressed himself to Marcius. In the first place, he rehearsed with praise his astonishing exploits, some of which he had himself beheld in the battle, while to others Lartius bore witness. Then, out of the abundant treasures and the many horses and prisoners that had been taken, he ordered him to choose out a tenth, before any distribution to the rest of the army; and besides all this, he presented him with a horse, duly caparisoned, as a prize of valour. After the Romans had applauded this speech, Marcius came forward and said that he accepted the horse, and was de-

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal. vi. 94.
καὶ χαίρειν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῦ ἄρχοντος, τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ μισθῶν, οὐ τιμὴν ἡγούμενος ἔαν, καὶ ἀγαπάναι πῆσειν ὡς εἰς ἔκαστος τὴν νέμησιν. "Εξαιρετοὶ δὲ μίαν αὐτοῦμαι χάριν," ἔφη, "καὶ δέομαι λαβεῖν. ἢν μοι ξένος ἐν Οὐκολόσκοις καὶ φίλος, ἄνηρ ἐπιεικῆς καὶ μέτριος· οὕτος ἐάλωκε νῦν καὶ γέγονεν ἐκ πλουσίου καὶ μακρίου δοῦλος. πολλῶν οὐν αὐτῷ κακῶν παρόντων ἐν ἀφελεῖν ἄρκει, τὴν πρᾶσιν.”

Ἐπὶ τούτως λεχθεῖσι βοή τε μείζων ἀπήνητησε τῷ Μαρκίῳ, καὶ πλείονες οἱ θαυμάζοντες ἐγένοντο τὸ μὴ κρατοῦμενον ὑπὸ χρημάτων τάνδρος ἡ τὴν ἑν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίαν. καὶ γὰρ οἷς φθόνον τι καὶ ξῆλου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲκειτο τιμώμενον ἐκπρεπῶς, κακείνος τότε τοῦ λαβεῖν μεγάλα τῷ μὴ λαβεῖν ἄξιος ἐδοξε, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡγάπησαν, ἀφ’ ἢς κατεφρόνει τηλικούτων, ἢ δὲ ὡν ἡξιοῦτο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐχρησθαί χρημασί κάλλιον ἔστιν ἡ ὅπλοις, τοῦ δὲ χρησθαί τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων σεμνότερον.

XI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαύσατο βοής καὶ θορύβου τὸ πλῆθος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κομίνος, "Ἀλλὰ ἐκείνας μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὁ συστρατιῶται, τὰς δωρεὰς οὓς δύνασθε βιάζεσθαι μὴ δεχόμενον τὸν ἄνδρα μηδὲ βουλόμενον λαβεῖν· ἢν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ διδομένην ἀπώσασθαι, δῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφισώμεθα καλεῖσθαι Κοριολανόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἡ πράξις αὐτῇ τοῦτο δέδωκεν.” ἐκ τούτου τρίτον ἔσχεν ὅνομα τὸν Κοριολανόν.

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lighted with the praises of the consul, but that he declined the rest, holding it to be pay, not honour, and would be content with his single share of the booty. "But I do ask one special favour," he said, "and beg that I may receive it. I had a guest-friend among the Volscians, a man of kindliness and probity. This man is now a prisoner, and from wealth and happiness is reduced to subjection. Since, then, many evils have befallen him, let me at least free him from one, that of being sold into bondage."

At such words as these still louder shouts greeted Marcius, and he found more admirers of his superiority to gain than of the bravery he had shown in war. For the very ones who secretly felt a certain jealous envy of him for his conspicuous honours, now thought him worthy of great rewards because he would not take them; and they were more delighted with the virtue which led him to despise such great rewards, than with the exploits which made him worthy of them. For the right use of wealth is a fairer trait than excellence in arms; but not to need wealth is loftier than to use it.

XI. When the multitude had ceased shouting their applause, Cominius took up the word again and said: "Ye cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon the man, when he does not accept them and is unwilling to take them; but there is a gift which he cannot refuse when it is offered. Let us give him this gift, and pass a vote that he be surnamed Coriolanus, unless, indeed, before such act of ours, his exploit has itself given him this name." Thence came his third name of Coriolanus.¹

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal. vi. 94.
2  "Ωι καὶ μάλιστα δὴλον ἡστιν ὅτι τῶν ὀνομάτων ἰδιον ἢν ὁ Γάιος, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον οἰκίας ἢ γένους κοινῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ ὑστερον ἐχρήσαντο πράξεως τινος ἢ τύχης ἢ ἰδέας ἢ ἀρετῆς ἐπιθέτῳ, καθάπερ Ἔλληνες ἐτίθεντο πράξεως μὲν ἐπώνυμον τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ τὸν Καλλίνικον, ἰδέας δὲ τὸν Φύσκωνα καὶ τὸν Γρυπόν, ἀρετῆς δὲ τὸν Εὐεργέτην καὶ τὸν Φιλάδελφον, εὐτυχίας δὲ τὸν
3 Εὐδαίμονα τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Βαττών. ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ σκώμματα παρέσχεν ἐπικλήσεις, ὡς Ἁντιγόνῳ τὸν Δώσωνα καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τὸν Δάμβρον. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ τῷ γένει τούτῳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοι κέχρηται, Διαδήματον τίνα τῶν Μετέλλων καλέσαντες, ὅτι πολλὸν χρόνον ἐλκος ἔχουν περιενώστει διαδεδεμένος ¹ τὸ μέτωπον, ἐτερον δὲ Κέλερα σπεύσαντα μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆς ἐπιταφίως μονομάχων ἀγώνας παρασκεύην, τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν δεύτερα τῆς
4 παρασκευῆς θαυμάσαντες. ἐνίοις δὲ συντυχία γενέσεως μέχρι νῦν καλοῦσι, Πρόκλον μέν, ἐὰν ἀποδημοῦντος πατρὸς γένηται, καὶ Πόστομον, ἂν τεθυηκότος· ὃ δὲ ἄν διδύμω γενομένῳ συμβῆναι περιβιωναι, βατέρου τελευτήσαντος, Ὁυπιμέσκον. τῶν δὲ σωματικῶν οὐ μόνον Σύλλας οὐδὲ Νίγρους

¹ diademedévos with Ma: peri̓de̓medévos.

¹ Soter, Saviour; Callinicus, Of noble victory; Physcon, Fat-paunch; Grypus, Hook-nosed; Euergetes, Benefactor; Philadelphus, Sister- or Brother-lover; Eudaemon, Prosperous;
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From this it is perfectly clear that Caius was the proper name; that the second name, in this case Marcius, was the common name of family or clan; and that the third name was adopted subsequently, and bestowed because of some exploit, or fortune, or bodily feature, or special excellence in a man. So the Greeks used to give surnames from an exploit, as for instance, Soter¹ and Callinicus; or from a bodily feature, as Physcon and Grypus; or from a special excellence, as Euergetes and Philadephus; or from some good fortune, as Eudaemon, the surname of the second Battus. And some of their kings have actually had surnames given them in mockery, as Antigonus Doson and Ptolemy Lathyrus. Surnames of this sort were even more common among the Romans. For instance, one of the Metelli was called Diadematus, because for a long time he suffered from a running sore and went about with a bandage on his forehead; another member of this family was called Celer, because he exerted himself to give the people funeral games of gladiators within a few days of his father's death, and the speed and swiftness of his preparations excited astonishment.² And at the present day some of them are named from casual incidents at their birth, Proculus, for instance, if a child is born when his father is away from home; or Postumus, if after his death; and when one of twin children survives, while the other dies, he is called Vopiscus. Moreover, from bodily features they not only bestow such surnames as Sulla, Niger, and Rufus, but also

Doson, Always-promiseing; Lathyrus, Vetchling; Sulla, Biotches (?); Niger, Black; Rufus, Red; Caecus, Blind; Claudius, Lame. ² Cf. Romulus, x. 2.
οὐδὲ Ῥούφους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καίκους καὶ Κλωδίους ἐπανυμίας τίθενται, καλῶς ἐθίζοντες μὴτε τυφλό-τητα μὴτ’ ἄλλην τινὰ σωματικὴν ἀτυχίαν ὁνει-δος ἥγειονθαί μηδὲ λοιδορίαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἰκείως ὑπακούειν ὁνόμασιν. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἐτέρῳ γένει γραφῆς προσήκει.

Χ. Παυσαμένω δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν στάσιν ἐπήγειρον αὐθείς οἱ δήμαρχοι, κατ’ ἑαυτὸν μὲν οὐδεμίαν αὐτίαν ἔχοντες οὐδ’ ἐγκλημα δίκαιον, ἢ δὲ ταῖς προτέραις αὐτῶν διαφοράς καὶ ταραχαῖς ἀναγκαίως ἐπηκολούθησε κακά, ταύτα ποιούμενοι πρόφασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρικίους. ἀσπορος γὰρ ἡ πλείστη καὶ ἀγεώργητη ἀπελεύθη τῆς χώρας, ἀγορᾶς δ’ ἐπεισάκτων παρασκευὴν διὰ τὸν πόλε-μον ὁ καίρος οὐκ ἔδωκεν. ἰσχυρᾶς όν ἀπορίας γενομένης, ἰρρωτει οἱ δήμαρχοι μὴτ’ ἀγορὰν ἔχοντα μήτ’, εἰ παρῆν ἀγόρα, χρημάτων εὑ-ποροῦντα τὸν δῆμον, ἐνεβάλλον λόγος καὶ διαβολὰς κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τὸν λιμὸν ἐπάγοντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ μνησιμακίας.

Ἐκ δὲ τῶν Οὐελιτρανῶν ἦκε προσβεία τὴν πόλιν παραδίδοντοι καὶ δεσμένων ἀπόκουσον ἀπο-στέλλειν. νόσοις γὰρ ἐμπεσοῦσα λοιμώδης αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον ὀλθρον καὶ φθορὰν ἀπειράσατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡστε μόλις τὸ δέκατον τοῦ παντὸς ἀπολειφθῆναι μέρος. ἐδοξεῖν οὖν τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν εἰς δέον γεγονέναι καὶ κατὰ καίρον ἡ χρεία τῶν Οὐελιτρανῶν διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν κουφισμοῦ δεομένους, καὶ τὴν στάσιν ἀμα σκε-δάσειν ἠλπιζον, εἰ τὸ θορυβοῦν μάλιστα καὶ
such as Caecus and Claudius. And they do well thus to accustom men to regard neither blindness nor any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or a disgrace, but to answer to such names as though their own. This topic, however, would be more fittingly discussed elsewhere.

XII. The war was no sooner over than the popular leaders revived the internal dissensions, without any new cause of complaint, or just accusations, but making the very evils which had necessarily followed in the wake of their previous quarrels and disturbances a pretext for opposing the patricians. For the greater part of the land had been left unsown and untilled, and the war left no opportunity to arrange an importation of market supplies. There was, therefore, a great scarcity of food, and when the popular leaders saw that there were no market supplies, and that if there were, the people had no money to buy them, they assailed the rich with slanderous accusations of purposely arraying the famine against them, in a spirit of revenge.

Moreover, there came an embassy from the people of Velitrae, who offered to hand their city over to the Romans, and begged them to send out colonists for it. For a pestilential disease had assailed them, and wrought such death and destruction among their citizens that hardly the tenth part of the whole number was left. Accordingly, such of the Romans as were sensible thought that this request of the people of Velitrae had come at an advantageous and opportune time, since the scarcity of food made it needful to ease the city of its burdensome numbers; at the same time they also hoped to dissipate its sedition, if the most turbulent elements
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συνεπηρμένου τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ὁσπερ περίττωμα τῆς πόλεως νοσερῶν καὶ παραχώδες ἀποκαθарθείη.

4 τούτους τε δὴ καταλέγοντες εἰς τὴν ἀποκίαν ἐξεπεμπον οἱ ὑπάτοι, καὶ στρατεύων ἐπήγγελλον ἐτέροις ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐκολούσκους, ἀσχολίαν τε τῶν ἐμφυλίων μηχανώμενοι θερήμων, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐν ὁπλικός καὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ κοινοῖς ἀγώσιν αὐθείς γενομένους πλουσίους ὁμοὶ καὶ πένητας καὶ δημοτικοὺς καὶ πατρικοὺς, ἡμερῶτερον ἀν διατεθήναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἦδιον.

XIII. Ἐνίσταντο δὲ λοιπὸν οἱ περὶ Σικίννιον καὶ Βρούτων δημαγωγοί, βοῶντες ἐργῷ ωμότατον αὐτοῦ τῷ προστάτῳ τῶν ὅνομάτων ἀποκίαν προσαγορεύσαντος ἀνθρώπους πένητας ὁσπερ εἰς βάραθρον ἄθειν, ἐκπέμποντας εἰς πόλιν ἄρεος τε νοσερόν καὶ νεκρῶν ἀτάφων γέμουσαν, ἀλλοτρίῳ δαίμονι καὶ παλαιμαῖῳ συνοικιζομένους.

2 εἶτα ὁσπερ οὐκ ἄρκουμένους τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διαλλύναι τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δὲ λοιμῷ προσβάλλειν, ἑτὶ καὶ πόλεμοι τορθαίρετον ἐπάγειν, ὅπως μηδὲν κακὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι δουλεύσας τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀπέιπε. τοιοῦτοι ἀναπιμπλάμενοι λόγοις ὁ δῆμος οὐτὲ τῷ καταλόγῳ προσήκει τῶν ὑπάτων πρὸς τε τὴν ἀποκίαν διεβέβλητο.

3 Ἐν δὲ βουλής διαπορούμενης ὁ Μάρκιος, ἢδη μεστὸς ὧν ὄγκου καὶ μέγας γεγονὼς τῷ φρονήματι καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων, φανε-
in it, and those which made most response to the exciting appeals of the popular leaders, should be purged away, like unhealthy and disturbing refuse from the body. Such citizens, therefore, the consuls selected as colonists and ordered them forth to Velitrae. They also enlisted others in a campaign against the Volsciens, contriving thus that there should be no leisure for intestine tumults, and believing that when rich and poor alike, plebeians as well as patricians, were once more united in military service and in common struggles for the public good, they would be more gently and pleasantly disposed towards one another.

XIII. But the popular leaders, Sicinius and Brutus, with their following, at once rose up in opposition, crying out that the consuls were disguising a most cruel deed under that most inoffensive name, a colony, and were really pushing poor men into a pit of death, as it were, by sending them forth into a city which was full of deadly air and unburied corpses, to be associated with a strange and abominable deity; and then, as if not satisfied with destroying some of their fellow-citizens by famine, and exposing others to pestilence, they proceeded further to bring on a war of their own choosing, that no evil might spare the city, which had but refused to continue in servitude to the rich. With their ears full of such speeches as these, the people would neither answer the consular summons for enlistment, nor look with any favour on the colony.¹

The senate was in perplexity. But Marcius, who was now full of importance, and had grown lofty in spirit, and was looked upon with admiration by the

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal. vii. 13.
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ròs ἣν μάλιστα τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀποκλίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ἐπιτιμίως μεγάλοις τοὺς λαχόντας ἐξελθεῖν ἀναγκάσαντες πρὸς δὲ τὴν στρατείαν παντάπασιν ἀπαγορεύοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Μάρκιος τοὺς τε πελάτας ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσος ἐπείσε, κατέδραμε τὴν

4 'Αντιατόν χώραν. καὶ πολὺν μὲν σῖτον εὕρων, πολλῆς δὲ λεία θρεμμάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων περιτυχῶν, αὐτῶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξείλετο, τοὺς δὲ στρατευσάμενος πολλά μὲν ἀγοράτας ἔχον, πολλά δὲ φέροντας, ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην, ὥστε τοὺς ἄλλους μεταμελομένους καὶ φθονήσαντας τοὺς εὐπορήσασιν ἀχθείσας τῷ Μαρκίῳ καὶ βαρύνεθαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον αὐξομένην.

XIV. Ὅλιγον δὲ χρόνον μετήμει μὲν ὑπατείαν ὁ Μάρκιος, ἐκάμπτοντο δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ τὸν δῆμον αἰδῶς τις εἶχεν ἄνδρα καὶ γένει καὶ ἀρετῆς πρὸς ἄτιμασι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοι καὶ τηλικοῦτοι εὐεργετήμασι. καὶ γὰρ ἔθεος ἦν τοῖς μετισσοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρακαλεῖν καὶ δεξιοῦσας τοὺς πολίτας ἐν ἰματίῳ κατιόντας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν ἀνευ χιτῶνος, εἶτε μᾶλλον ἔκταπευνούντας ἐαυτοὺς τῷ σχῆμα πρὸς τὴν δέσιν, εἶτε δεικνύοντας οἷς ἦσαν ὅτειλαν προφανῆ τὰ σύμβολα

2 τῆς ἀνδρείας. οὐ γὰρ ὑποφίλα δῆπον διανοήμην ἀργυρίου καὶ δεκασπρῶν ἀξίωσεν ἐβούλοντο προσίεναι καὶ ἀχίτωνα τὸς πολίτας τὸν δεόμενον

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal. vii. 19.
2 There is nothing of this candidacy for the consulship in Livy (ii. 34, 7-35). Marcius urges the senate to take advantage of the famine and exact from the plebeians a surrender
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most powerful men of the city, openly took the lead in resisting the popular leaders. The colony was sent out, those that were chosen for it by lot being compelled to go forth under severe penalties; and when the people utterly refused military service, Marcius himself mustered his clients and as many others as he could persuade, and made an incursion into the territory of Antium. There he found much corn, and secured large booty in cattle and captives, no part of which did he take out for himself, but brought his followers back to Rome laden with large spoils of every sort. The rest of the citizens therefore repented themselves, envied their more fortunate fellows, and were filled with hostility to Marcius, not being able to endure the reputation and power of the man, which was growing, as they thought, to be detrimental to the people.¹

XIV. But not long after, when Marcius stood for the consulship,² the multitude relented, and the people felt somewhat ashamed to slight and humble a man who was foremost in birth and valour and had performed so many and such great services. Now it was the custom with those who stood for the office to greet their fellow-citizens and solicit their votes, descending into the forum in their toga, without a tunic under it. This was either because they wished the greater humility of their garb to favour their solicitations, or because they wished to display the tokens of their bravery, in case they bore wounds. It was certainly not owing to a suspicion of the dispensing of money in bribery that the candidate for the votes of their tribunate. This so exasperates the people that they try Marcius in absentia and banish him, whereupon he goes over to the Volsci. Plutarch's story (xiv.–xx.) agrees closely with Dionysius Hal. vii. 21–64.
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αὐτῶν ὡς ὅψε γὰρ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ὑψηλὴ καὶ πρᾶσις ἐπεισῆλθε, καὶ συνεμίγη ταῖς ἐκκλησίασις τικαιὸς ψήφους ἀργύριον. ἦκ δὲ τούτου καὶ δικαστῶν θυγούσα καὶ στρατοπέδου ἡ δωροδοκία περιέστησεν εἰς μοναρχίαν τὴν πόλιν, ἔξανδραποδισμένη τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς χρήμασιν. οὐ γὰρ κακῶς ἔοικεν εἰπεῖν ὅ εἰπὼν ὅτι πρῶτος κατέλυσε τὸν δήμον ὁ πρῶτος ἐστιάσας καὶ δεκάσας. φαίνεται δὲ κρύφα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέον σὺν εὐθὺς ἔκδηλον ἐν Ὀμή γενέσθαι τὸ κακὸν. οὐ γὰρ ἦσεν ὅστις ἦν ὁ δεκάσας πρῶτος ἐν Ὀμή δήμον ἡ δικαστήριον Ἀθηνησί δὲ λέγεται πρῶτος ἀργύριον δοῦναι δικασταῖς Ἀνυτος ὁ Ἀνθέμων, προδοσίας περὶ Πύλου κριμόμενος, ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς ἦδη τελευτώσιν, ὅπηνικα τὸ χρυσόν ἔτι γένος καὶ ἀκριβατον ἐν Ὀμή τὴν ἀγορὰν κατείχεν.

XV. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε Μάρκιον πολλὰς ύποφαίνοντο ὑποθέλας ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀγώνων, ἐν οἷς ἐπρώτευσε ἐπτακαίδεκα ἐπὶ συνεχῶς στρατευόμενος, ἐδυσωποῦντο τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ λόγον ἀλληλοις ἐδίδοσαν ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἀποδείξουτες. ἐπεὶ δὲ, τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἣ τὴν ψήφου ἔδει φέρειν ἐνστάσις, οἱ Μάρκιος εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε σοβαρᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς προτεμύμοιν, καὶ πάντες οἱ πατρίκιοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγένοτο φανεροὶ πρὸς μηδὲν οὕτως μηδὲν ὡτε 2 μηδέποτε σπουδάσαντες, ἐξέπεσον αὕτης οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ εὐνοίας, εἰς τὸ νεμεσάν καὶ
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of the citizens was required to present himself before them without a tunic and ungirt. For it was long after this time that the buying and selling of votes crept in and money became a feature of the elections. But afterwards, bribery affected even courts and camps, and converted the city into a monarchy, by making armies the utter slaves of money. For it has been well said that he first breaks down the power of the people who first feasts and bribes them. But at Rome the mischief seems to have crept in stealthily and gradually, and not to have been noticed at once. For we do not know who was the first man to bribe her people or her courts of law; whereas at Athens, Anytus, the son of Anthemion, is said to have been the first man to give money to jurors, when he was on trial for the treacherous failure to relieve Pylos,¹ toward the close of the Peloponnesian war; a time when the pure race of the golden age still possessed the Roman forum.

XV. So when Marcius disclosed his many scars from many contests, wherein he had been a foremost soldier for seventeen years together, the people were put out of countenance by his valour, and agreed with one another to elect him. But when the day for casting their votes came, and Marcius made a pompous entry into the forum escorted by the senate, and all the patricians about him were clearly more bent on success than ever before, the multitude fell away again from their good will towards him, and

¹ A stronghold on the western coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus. It was occupied and successfully defended by the Athenians in 425 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 2-41). In 410, the Lacedaemonians laid siege to its Messenian garrison, which surrendered after an Athenian fleet had failed to relieve it (Diodorus, xiii. 64, 5 f.).

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PHLOXINOS ὑποφερόμενοι. προσήν δὲ τῷ πάθει
tούτῳ καὶ δέος, εἰ γένοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς κύριος ἀνὴρ
ἀριστοκρατικὸς καὶ τοσούτον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πατρι-
κίοις ἁξίωμα, μὴ παντάπασιν ἀφέλοιτο τοῦ δῆμου
tῆν ἐλευθερίαν.

3 Οὕτω δὴ φρονήσαντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο τὸν
Μάρκιον. ὡς δὲ ἀνηγορεύθησαν ἔτεροι, βαρέως
μὲν ἤνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δοκοῦσα προτετηλακίσθαι
μᾶλλον ἐαυτὴν ἢ τὸν Μάρκιον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνος
οὐ μετρίως ἐσχέν οὐδὲ ἐπιεικὸς πρὸς τὸ συμβε-
βηκός, ἀτε δὴ πλείστα τῷ θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλο-
νείκῳ μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἔχοντι μέγεθος καὶ
φρονήμα, κεχρημένος, τὸ δὲ ἐμβριθές καὶ τὸ
πρᾶον, οὐ τὸ πλείστον ἀρετὴ πολιτικὴ μέτεστιν,
ἐγκεκραμένον οὐκ ἔχων ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ παιδείας,

4 οὐδὲ τὴν ἐρημία ξύνοικον, ὡς Πλάτων ἔλεγεν,
αὐθάδειαν εἰδῶς ὅτι δεῖ μᾶλστα διαφέυγειν
ἐπιχειροῦντα πράγματι κοινοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις
ἀμίλειν, καὶ γενέσθαι τῆς πολλὰ γελωμένης ὑπ'
ἐνὼν ἀνεξικακίας ἔραστήν. ἄλλ' ἀπλοῖς τις ὄν
ἀεὶ καὶ ἀτενής, καὶ τὸ νικάν καὶ κρατεῖν ἀπάντων
πάντως ἀνδρείας ἔργον ἡγούμενος, οὐκ ἀσθενείας
καὶ μαλακίας, ἐκ τοῦ ποιούντος καὶ πεπονθότος
μᾶλστα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡσπέρ οἴδημα, τὸν θυμὸν
ἀναδιούσῃ, ἀπείρα ταχάς μεστὸς ὃν καὶ

5 πικρίας πρὸς τὸν δήμον. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῶν
πατρικίων, ὃ τι περ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλστα
γαυρόμενον εὐγενεία καὶ ἀνθοῦν, αἱ τε θαυ-
μαστῶς ἐσπουδάκεσαν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τότε
προσκελέμενοι καὶ παρόντες οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὸν
θυμὸν ἐξερρήπτευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ συναγαγακτεῖν καὶ
drifted into feelings of resentment and envy. These feelings were reinforced by their fear that if an aristocrat, who had such weight with the patricians, should become supreme in the government, he might altogether deprive the people of their liberties.

So, being in such a state of mind, they rejected Marcius and others were proclaimed elected. The senators were indignant, thinking the insult directed rather at them than at Marcius, and he himself could not treat the occurrence with restraint or forbearance. He had indulged the passionate and contentious side of his nature, with the idea that there was something great and exalted in this, and had not been imbued, under the influence of reason and discipline, with that gravity and mildness which are the chief virtues of a statesman. Nor did he know that one who undertakes public business must avoid above all things that self-will which, as Plato says, is the "companion of solitude"; must mingle with men, and be a lover of that submissiveness to injury which some people ridicule so much. But since he was ever a straightforward man and obstinate, and since he thought that conquest and mastery in all things and at all times was the prerogative of bravery, rather than of effeminate weakness (which breaks out in anger, like a swelling sore, from the troubled and wounded spirit), he went away full of indignation and bitterness towards the people. The younger patricians, too, that element in the city which made most vaunt of noble birth and was most showy, had always been amazingly devoted to the man, and, adhering to him now, when their presence did him no good, fanned his anger by their sympa-

¹ In a letter to Dio (Epist. iv. ad fin.).
συναλγεῖν. ἦν γὰρ ἤγεμὼν αὐτὸς καὶ διδάσκαλος εὐμενὴς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατεύμασι, καὶ ξῆλθον ἄρετῆς ἄνευ φθόνου πρὸς ἅλληλους γαυρώσας τοὺς κατορθοῦντας.

XVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ σῖτος ἦκεν εἰς Ἄρμην, πολὺς μὲν ὄντως ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οὐκ ἐλάττων δὲ δωρητῶς ἐκ Συρακοσῶν, Γέλωνος τοῦ τυράννου πέμψατος· ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους ἐν ἐλπίδι γενέσθαι χρησταῖς, ἡμι τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τῆς 22 διαφοράς τὴν πόλιν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας. εὖθυς οὖν βουλής ἀθροισθείσης περιχυθεὶς ὁ δήμος ἐξωθεὶ ἐκαραδόκει τὸ τέλος, ἐπιέζων ἀγορὰ τε χρῆσθαι φιλανθρώπῃ καὶ προῖκα τὰς δωρεὰς νεκρόσωσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐνδοῦν 2 ἦσαν οἱ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς πείθοντες. οἱ μέντοι Μάρκιος ἀναστᾶς σφόδρα καθήσατο τῶν χαριζομένων τοῖς πολλοῖς, δημαγωγοὺς καὶ προδότας ἀποκαλῶν τῆς ἄριστοκρατίας καὶ σπέρματα πονηρὰ θρασύτητος καὶ ὑβρεῖς εἰς ὅχλον ἀφειμένα τρέφοντας καθ’ αὐτῶν, ἃ καλῶς μὲν εἰχε μὴ περιϊδεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ φυόμενα μηδ’ ἵσχυρὸν ἀρχὴ τηλικαύτη τοιῆσαι τὸν δήμον, ἢδη δὲ καὶ φοβερὸν εἶναι τῷ πάντα βουλομένως αὐτῶς ὑπάρχειν καὶ μηδὲν ἄκοντας βιῶσθαι, μηδὲ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ἀλλ’ ἀναρχίας ἔχοντας 3 ἤγεμόνας ἰδίους ἀρχοντας προσαγορεύειν, ἐπιδόσεις μὲν οὖν καὶ διανομάς, ὡσπερ Ἐλλήνων οἱ κράτιστα δημοκρατούμενοι, καθέξεσθαι ψηφιζομένους ἐφη παντελῶς εἰς κοινὸν ὀλεθρὸν τὴν 154
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thetic vexation and sorrow. For he was their leader and willing teacher of the art of war in their campaigns, and inspired them in their victories with a zeal for valour, which had no tinge of mutual jealousy.

XVI. In the meantime grain came to Rome, a great part of it bought in Italy, but an equal amount sent as a present from Syracuse, where Gelo was tyrant. Most of the people were consequently in great hope, expecting that the city would be delivered both from its scarcity and its discord. The senate, accordingly, was convened at once, and the people, flocking about the senate-house, awaited the result of its deliberations. They expected that the market-price for grain would now be moderate, and that what had been sent as a present would be distributed gratis. For there were some in the senate who so advised that body. But Marcius rose in his place and vehemently attacked those who favoured the multitude, calling them demagogues and betrayers of the aristocracy, and declaring that they were nourishing, to their own harm, the evil seeds of boldness and insolence which had been sown among the rabble; these they should have choked when they first sprang up, and not have strengthened the people by such a powerful magistracy as the tribunate. But now their body was formidable, because it got everything that it desired, allowed no constraint upon its will, and refused to obey the consuls, but had their own leaders in anarchy, whom they styled their rulers. To sit there, moreover, voting such a people largesses and supplies, like those Greeks where democracy is most extreme, he said was nothing more nor less than maintaining them in their disobedience, to the common destruc-
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ἀπείθειαν αὐτῶν ἐφοδιάξειν. “Οὔ γαρ χάριν τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσαι τῶν στρατεύματο τινὰ προῆκαντο τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τῶν διαβολῶν ἁπάθειας ἀνθρώπους ἀρχικῶν καὶ ἀλλ’ υφιστάμενοι διὰ φόβον καὶ κολακεύοντας ὑμᾶς ταύτα διδόναι καὶ συγχωρεῖν ἐπιστάντες, οὐδὲν ἔξωσι πέρας ἀπείθειας, οὐδὲ

4 παύσωσι διαφερόμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες. ὡστε τούτῳ μὲν ἔστι κομιδὴ μανικῶν· εἰ δὲ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἀφαιρησόμεθα τὴν δημαιρίαν αὐτῶν, ἀναρρέσωσιν ὑπατείας καὶ διάστασιν τῆς πόλεως, οὐκέτι μιᾶς, ὡς πρότερον, οὕσης, ἀλλὰ δεδεγμένης τοῖς μηδέποτε συμπόνοι μηδὲ ὀμοφρονήσαι μηδὲ παύσασθαι νοσοῦντας ἡμᾶς καὶ ταραττομένους ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἔξωσονσι.”

XVII. Πωλὰ τοιαύτα λέγων ὁ Μάρκιος ἄφενεν οὐκ ἀνθρωποσεῖόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ὠλίγον δεῖν ἀπαντᾶς, μόνον ἐκεῖνον ἄλλο τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν ἀρχηγῆτον καὶ ἀκολάζετον βοῶτας. ἔνει οὗ τῶν ἅγιον σεβάστων, ὑφορώμενοι τὸ ὑποβησόμενον. ἀπεβη δὲ χρυσίτων οὐδέν. οἱ γὰρ δημαιρχοι παρόντες, ὡς ἠθενοῦν τῇ γυναῖκι κρατοῦντα τὸν Μάρκιον, ἐξέδραμον εἰς τὸν ὄχλον μετὰ βοήθειας παρακελευόμενοι συνίστασθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς 2 τοὺς πολλούς. ἐκκλησίας δὲ δωρωθόδους γενομένης, καὶ τῶν λόγων οὗ οἱ Μάρκιος ἐπείπε ἀναγορευθέντων, ὠλίγον ἐδέχθην ἐμπεσεῖν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς φερόμενος εἰς τὴν βουλήν ὁ δῆμος. οἱ δὲ δημαιρχοι τοῦ Μάρκιον τὴν αἰτίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ πέμπον—

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tion of all. "For they surely will not say that they are getting these as a grateful return for the military services which they omitted, and the secessions by which they renounced their country, and the calumnies against the senate which they have countenanced. They will rather be confident that your fears drive you to subserviency and flattery when you make them these gifts and concessions, and will set no limit to their disobedience, nor cease from their quarrels and seditions. Such action on our part would therefore be sheer madness; but if we are wise, we shall take their tribunate away from them, for it makes the consulship null and void, and divides the city. This is no longer one, as before, but has been cut in two, so that we can never grow together again, or be of one mind, or cease afflicting and confounding one another."

XVII. With many such words as these Marcius was beyond measure successful in filling the younger senators, and almost all the wealthy ones, with his own fierce enthusiasm, and they cried out that he was the only man in the city who disdained submission and flattery. But some of the older senators opposed him, suspecting the outcome. And the outcome was wholly bad. For the tribunes were present, and when they saw that the proposal of Marcius was likely to prevail, they ran out among the crowd with loud cries, calling upon the plebeians to rally to their help. Then there was a stormy session of the assembly, and when the speech of Marcius was reported to it, the people were carried away with fury and almost burst in upon the senate. But the tribunes made their formal denunciation of Marcius, and summoned him by messenger to come before them and
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tes ēkálovn avtōn ἀπολογησόμενον. òs dè proś ὑβριν tou s p e m b h é ν τ a s éxhλasev uphērētas, avtōi metà touν ἀγορανόμων ἱκγν αξιοντες bía touν āndra, kai toû sómatoς ἐπελαμβάνοντο. suvstántes δ’ oi πατρίκιοι touvs mēn dēmárkhous ἀπετρήζαντο, toîs δ’ ἀγορανόμους kai πληγᾶς ēnēbalon.

3 Tôte mēn ouν ēspéra katalαβούσα την ταρα-χήν διέλυσεν ἀμα δ’ ἡμέρα touν δῆμον εξηγηριω-μένου ὄρωτες oi ὑπατοι kai συντρέχοντα παν-ταχόθεν eis την ἀγοράν ἔδεισαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, kai την βουλήν ἀθροίζοντες ἐκέλευν σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἐπιεικέσι λόγους kai δόγμασι χρηστοῖς πραύνωσι και καταστήσονται τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡς οὗ φιλοτιμίας οὔσαν ὄραν, οὗ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἄμμαλλαν, εἰ σωφρονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ροῦν ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ ὄξυν, εὐγνώμονος πολιτείας καὶ φιλανθρώπου δέομενον.

4 eixántων de touν πλείστων προελθόντες ὡς ἐνήν μάλιστα τῷ δῆμῳ διελέγοντο kai κατεπράνουν, ἀπολυόμενοι τε τὰς διαβολὰς ἐπιεικῶς kai τῷ νουθετοῦντι kai δάκνοντι μετρίως χρώμενοι, περὶ de tîmēs ὁνίων kai ἀγορᾶς οὔδεν διοίσεσθαι πρὸς avtōus fáskoûntes.

XVIII. ‘Ωs ouν ἐνεδίδου τὸ πολὺ touν δῆμον 222 kai fanevŏn ἦν τῷ κοσμίως kai σωφρόνως ἀκοῦειν ἀγόμενον kai κηλοῦμενον, ἀνέστησαν οἱ δήμαρχοι, τῇ μὲν βουλῇ σωφρονοῦσῃ τὸν δῆμον ἀνθυπείξειν ὅσα καλῶς ἔχει φάσκουτες, τὸν δὲ Μάρκιον ἀπολογείεσθαι κελεύοντες, εἰ μὴ φησιν

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make his defence. And when he insolently drove away the officers who brought their message, they went themselves, attended by the aediles, to bring him by force, and tried to lay hands upon his person. But the patricians, banding together, drove the tribunes away, and actually beat the aediles.

By this time, then, evening had fallen, which put an end to the tumult; but as soon as it was day, the exasperated people came running together from all quarters into the forum. When the consuls saw this, they were alarmed for the city, and convening the senate, urged them to consider how, by reasonable proposals and suitable resolutions, they might soothe and pacify the multitude, since it was not a time for ambitious rivalry, nor would they be wise in contending for their dignity, but the crisis was severe and critical, and demanded measures that were considerate and humane. The majority of the senate acceding to these views, the consuls went out and reasoned with the people as well as they could, and tried to mollify them, answering their accusations in a reasonable manner, and making only a moderate use of admonition and rebuke; as regarded the price of provisions and market supplies, they declared there should be no difference between them.

XVIII. Accordingly, the greater part of the people showed signs of relenting, and it was evident, from their decorous and sober attention, that they were on the way to be controlled and won over. Then the tribunes rose and declared that since the senate was now acting soberly, the people in their turn would make such concessions as were fair and honourable. They insisted, however, that Marcius should make answer to the following charges: Could he deny that
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ἐπὶ συγχύσει τῆς πολιτείας καὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου τὴν τε βουλὴν παροξύνειν καὶ καλούμενος

2 ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπειθήσαι, τέλος δὲ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους τύπτων ἐν ἄγορᾷ καὶ προπηλακίζων ἐμφύλουν, ὀσον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, πόλεμον ἔξεργάζασθαι καὶ προ-

αγαγεῖν ἐις ὁπλα τοὺς πολίτας. ἔλεγον δὲ ταύτα 

βουλόμενοι τὸν Μάρκιον ἡ ταπεινῶν ἀποδείξαι,

παρὰ φύσιν ύφέντα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τεραπεύοντα τὸν δήμον, ἡ τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνήκεστον ἀπεργᾶσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρην· ὃ μᾶλλον ἦλπίζον, ὁρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός.

3 Ἐστη μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος, καὶ παρέ-

σχεν αὐτῷ σιωπήν καὶ ἦσυχιάν ὁ δήμος· ὡς δ’ ἦρξατο πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δεητικόν τινα λόγον προσδεχομένους οὐ μόνον ἐπαχθεὶ παρρησία χρῆ-

σθαι καὶ πλείον κατηγορία τῆς παρρησίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φωνῆς καὶ διαθέσει προσώπου τὴν ἐγγὺς ὑπεροψίας καὶ ὀλγυρίας ἀφοβίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος,

4 ὁ μὲν δήμος ἐξητραχύνθη καὶ φανερὸς ἦν δυσαν-

σχετῶν καὶ βαρυνόμενος τοῖς λεγομένοις, τῶν δὲ 

dημάρχων ὁ θρασύτατος Σικίνιος μικρὰ τοῖς 

συνάρχουσι διαλεχθεῖς, εἰτ’ εἰς μέσον ἀναγορεύσας ὡς θάνατος ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων τοῦ Μαρκίου 

κατέγνωσαι, προσέταξε τοῖς ἀγορανόμους ἀναγα-

γόντας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκραν εὔθεις ὅσαι κατὰ

5 τῆς ὑποκειμένης φάραγγος. ἀποτελοῦν δὲ τῶν ἀγορανόμου τοῦ σώματος ἔδοξε μὲν καὶ τῶν 

δημοτῶν πολλοῖς φρικτῶν εἰναι τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ 

ὑπερήφανον, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι παντάπασιν ἐκστάντες

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he had instigated the senate to violate the constitution and abrogate the powers of the people? When summoned to appear before them, had he not refused? And finally, by insulting and beating the aediles in the forum, had he not done all in his power to incite the citizens to arms and bring about a civil war? They made this demand with a desire either that Marcius should be publicly humiliated, if, contrary to his nature, he curbed his haughty spirit and sued for the favour of the people; or, if he yielded to his natural promptings, that he should do something which would justify their wrath against him and make it implacable. The latter was what they the rather expected, and they rightly estimated the man's character.

For he came and stood before them as one who would defend himself, and the people were quiet and silent in his presence. But when, instead of the more or less deprecatory language expected by his audience, he began not only to employ an offensive boldness of speech, which at last became actual denunciation, but also to show, by the tone of his voice and the cast of his countenance, that his fearlessness was not far removed from disdain and contempt, then the people was exasperated, and gave evident signs that his words roused their impatience and indignation. Upon this, Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a brief conference with his colleagues, made formal proclamation that Marcius was condemned to death by the tribunes of the people, and ordered the aediles to take him up to the Tarpeian rock at once, and cast him down the cliff below. But when the aediles laid hold of his person, it seemed, even to many of the plebeians, a horrible and monstrous act; the patricians,
καὶ περιπαθήσαντες ὀρμησαν ἀπὸ κρανγής βοηθεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ χειρὶ τοὺς ἐπιλαμβανομένους ἀνείργοντες καὶ καταμαγνύντες ἐαυτοῖς τῶν Μάρκιων ἦν ἐντὸς ἰδίᾳ μόνῳ τε καὶ φωνῆς οὐδέν ἔργον ὑπὲρ ἄκοσμης τοσαύτη καὶ θαρύβους, ἀρρενοῦ συμφρονήσαντες οὐ φίλοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι τῶν δημάρχων ὡς ἄνευ φόνου πολλοῦ τῶν πατρικίων οὐκ ἔστω ἐξαγαγεῖν οὐδὲ κολάσαι τὸν Μάρκιον, ἐπείσαν αὐτοὺς ἀφελεῖν τῆς τιμωρίας τὸ ἀλλόκοτον καὶ βαρύ, μὴ βία μηδὲ ἀκριτον ἀποκτηνώντας, ἀλλὰ τὸ δήμος ἁγίαν ἐπενεκεῖ τοις ἀποδόντας.

7 ἐκ τούτου καταστάσας ὁ Σικίνιος ἡρώτα τοὺς πατρικίους τι βουλόμενοι τὸν Μάρκιον ἀφαιροῦντας τοῦ δήμου βουλομένου κολάζεων. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πάλιν ἀντερωτώντων “Τι μὲν οὖν διανοεῖσθε καὶ τι βουλεύετε ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρα Ρωμαίοι ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἂνευ κρίσεως ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ὑμὴν καὶ 8 παράνομον οὕτως ἀχοντες;” ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν, εἰπεν ὁ Σικίνιος, “ὑμεῖς μὴ ποιεῖσθε πρόφασιν διαφορᾶς καὶ στάσεως πρὸς τὸν δήμον ὡς γὰρ ἀξιοῦντε, δίδωσιν ὑμῖν, κριθήναι τὸν ἄνδρα. οὐ δὲ, Μάρκιος, προαγορεύομεν εἰς τρίτην ἀγορὰν παρεῖναι καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖς, ὡς ἁγία κρινοῦντας.”

Χ. Ε. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἠγάπησαν οἱ πατρικίοι τὴν διάλυσιν, καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον ἀσμένως ἔχοντες ἀπῆλθον. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ τῆς τρίτης ἀγορᾶς (ἀγορᾶς δὲ ποιοῦσι Ἡρωμαίοι δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνάτης, νοοῦνται καλοῦντες) ἐπιδίδα μὲν αὐτοῖς παρέσχε διακρούσεως στρατεία γενομένη πρὸς
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moreover, utterly beside themselves, distressed and horror stricken, rushed with loud cries to his aid. Some of them actually pushed away the officers making the arrest, and got Marcius among themselves; some stretched out their hands in supplication of the multitude, since words and cries were of no avail amid such disorder and confusion. At last the friends and kindred of the tribunes, perceiving that it was impossible, without slaying many patricians, to lead Marcius away and punish him, persuaded them to remit what was unusual and oppressive in his sentence, not to use violence and put him to death without a trial, but to surrender him and refer his case to the people. Then Sicinius, becoming calm, asked the patricians what they meant by taking Marcius away from the people when it wished to punish him. But the patricians asked in their turn: "What then is your purpose, and what do ye mean, by thus dragging one of the foremost men of Rome, without a trial, to a savage and illegal punishment?"

"Well then," said Sicinius, "ye shall not have any such excuse for factious quarrel with the people; for they grant your demand that the man have a trial. And we cite thee, Marcius, to appear before the citizens on the third market-day ensuing, and convince them, if you can, of your innocence, assured that they will decide your case by vote."

XIX. For the time being, then, the patricians were satisfied with this truce, and went away in glad possession of Marcius. But in the time which intervened before the third market-day (for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, calling them, therefore, "nundinae"), a campaign was undertaken against the city of Antium, which led them to hope
'Αντιάτας, ὡς μῆκος ἔξουσα καὶ χρόνον ἐν ὧδε χειροθῆς ὁ δῆμος ἐσται, τῆς ὀργῆς ἀπομαραθείσης ἡ παντελῶς ἐκπεσούσης δὲ ἀσχολών καὶ 2 πόλεμον ἐπείτα δὲ, ὡς ταχὺ διαλυσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς 'Αντιάτας ἐπανήλθον, ἐγένοντο σύνοδοι τῶν πατρικίων πολλάκις, δεδιότων καὶ σκοπούντων ὅπως τὸν τε Μάρκιον οὐ προῆσονται τὸν τε δήμον αὖθις οὐ παρέξουσιν ἐκταράττειν τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς. "Αππίος μὲν οὖν Κλαύδιος αἰτίαν ἔχουν 223 ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μισόδημος εἶναι διεμαρτύρετο, λέγων τὴν τε βουλὴν αὐτοῦς ἀναιρησεῖν καὶ προῆσθαι παντάπασι τὴν πολιτείαν, εἰ κύριον τῆς ψήφου κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων δέξονται γενό- 3 μένον τὸν δήμον· οἱ δὲ προσβύτατοι καὶ δημοτι- κῶτατοι τούναντίον ἦξίουν οὐ χαλεπῶν οὐδὲ βαρῶν, ἀλλὰ πράξων καὶ φιλάνθρωπων ὑπὸ τῆς ἔξουσίας ἐσεσθαί τὸν δήμον· οὐ γὰρ καταφρο- νοῦντι τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλ’ οἰομένῳ καταφρονεῖσθαι τιμή καὶ παραμυθίαν γενῆσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, ὡς ᾧ ἄμα τὴν ψήφου λαβόντας ἀποθήκευθαι τὴν ὀργήν.

XX. Ὄρων οὖν ὁ Μάρκιος εὐνοίᾳ μὲν αὐτοῦ, φόβῳ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπορουμένην, ἑρωτήσας τοὺς δημάρχους τί κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τίνος κριθεσόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον ἐξ- ἄγουσιν. εἰπόντων δ’ ἐκεῖνων ὅτι τυραννὶς ἔστι τὸ ἐγκλημα καὶ τυραννεῖν διανοοῦμενον ἀποδεί- ξουσιν αὐτόν, οὖτος ἐξαναστὰς αὐτὸς ἔφη πρὸς 164
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that the issue might be avoided altogether. The campaign would last long enough, they thought, for the people to become tractable, after their rage had languished or altogether disappeared by reason of their occupation with the war. But presently, when the citizens returned home after a speedy settlement of their dispute with Antium, the patricians were in frequent conclave, being full of fear, and deliberating how they might not surrender Marcius, and yet prevent the popular leaders from throwing the people again into tumult and disorder. Appius Claudius, indeed, who was counted among those most hostile to the claims of the people, said with all solemnity that the senate would destroy itself and utterly betray the government of the city, if it should suffer the people to wield their vote in judgement on the patricians. But the oldest senators, and those most inclined to favour the people, maintained on the contrary that it would not be rendered harsh or severe by its exercise of this power, but mild and humane; for since it did not despise the senate, but rather thought itself despised by that body, the prerogative of trying a senator would be a solace to its feelings and a mark of honour, so that as soon as it proceeded to vote it would lay aside its wrath.

XX. Marcius, therefore, seeing that the senate was in suspense between its kindly feelings towards him and its fear of the people, asked the tribunes what the accusations against him were, and on what charge he would be tried if they led him before the people. They replied that the charge against him was usurpation, and that they would prove him guilty of planning a usurpation of the government. Thereupon he rose of his own accord and said he was going

2 Συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου πρῶτον μὲν οὐ κατὰ λόχους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φυλαὶ ἐβιάζοντο γίνεσθαι τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ γνώριμων καὶ στρατευμένων τῶν ἀπορῶν καὶ πολυπράγμωνα καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ φροντίζοντα μηδὲν ὄχλον ἐπί-3 προσθεν ταῖς ψήφοις ποιοῦντες. ἔπειτα τὴν τυραννίδος ἀφέντες αὐτίαν ἀναπόδεικτον οὕσαν, ἐκείνων πάλιν ἐμέμνηντο τῶν λόγων οὗς ὁ Μάρκιος πρῶτον ἐπεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, κωλύων μὲν ἐπευνώνόν τε τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τὴν δημαρχίαν τοῦ δῆμου κελεύων. καὶνὸν δὲ κατηγόρησαν αὐτοῦ κατηγόρημα τὴν διανομήν τῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλὰ ἔστω ἐν τῷ Ἀντιατόν χώρας οὐκ ἀνήγεικεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, ἀλλὰ διένειμε τοῖς μεθ ἀυτοῦ στρα-4 τενομένοις. υφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα λέγεται διαταραχθήναι τὸν Μάρκιον, οὐ γὰρ προσεδόκησεν οὐδὲ εὐπόρησε πρὸς τὸν ὅχλον ἐκ τοῦ παραπτάκει τόλμων πιθανόν, ἀλλ' ἐπαινοῦντι τὸς στρατευσάμενος ἐθορύβησαν αὐτῷ πλεῖονδ' ὄντες οἱ μὴ στρατευσάμενοι. τέλος δὲ οὖν ταῖς φυλαῖς
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at once before the people to make his defence, and would deprecate no manner of trial, nor, should he be found guilty, any form of punishment; "Only," said he, "see that ye confine yourselves to the charge mentioned, and do not play false with the senate." The tribunes agreed to this, and on these terms the trial was held.

But when the people were come together, in the first place, the tribunes insisted that the votes be cast not by centuries,¹ but by tribes, thus making the indigent and officious rabble, which had no thought of honour, superior in voting power to the wealthy and well known citizens of the military class. In the second place, abandoning the charge of usurpation, which could not be proven, they dwelt again upon the speech which Marcius had previously made in the senate, when he protested against the lowering of the market-price of grain, and urged them to take the tribunate away from the people. They also added a fresh charge against him, namely, his distribution of the spoils which he had taken from the country of Antium; these, they said, he had not turned into the public treasury, but had distributed them among those who made the campaign with him. By this accusation Marcius is said to have been more disturbed than by all the rest. For he had not expected it, and was not ready at once with an answer which would satisfy the people, but began to praise those who had made the campaign, whereupon he was clamorously interrupted by those who had not made it, and they were the more numerous. In the end, therefore, the vote was taken

¹ Out of the 193 centuries, the richest class alone had 98, against 95 of all the other five classes put together.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ὈΛΥΜΠΙΑΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑΣ ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗΣ ΑΝΑΠΛΗΡΩΤΗΣ

τῆς ψήφου δοθεῖσας αἱ καθαροῦσαι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο. ἦν δὲ τίμημα τῆς καταδίκης ἀθίδιος φυγή. 5 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν ὁ μὲν δήμος οὐδέποτε νικήσας μάχῃ πολεμίων τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησεν ὅσον τότε φρονῶν καὶ γεγηθὼς ἀπήγορε, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν ἄχος ἔσχε καὶ κατήφεια δεινή, μεταμελομένη καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ πάντα ποιήσαι καὶ παθεῖν πρότερον ἢ περιίδειν ὑβρίσαντα καὶ χρησάμενον ἐξουσία τοσαῦτῃ τὸν δήμον. οὔδὲν δ’ ἔδει τότε πρὸς διάγνωσιν ἐσθήτος ἢ παρασήμων ἐτέρων, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἦν δῆλος ὅτι δημότης ὁ χαῖρων καὶ ὁ δυσφορῶν ὁτι πατρίκιος.

XXI. Πλὴν αὐτὸς ὁ Μάρκιος, ἀνέκπληκτος καὶ ἀταπείνωτος, καὶ σχήματι καὶ βαδίσματι καὶ προσώπῳ καθεστηκός, ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφαίνετο πεπουθόσιν ἀσυμπαθὴς ἕαυτῷ μόνος, οὐκ ὑπὸ λογισμοῦ καὶ πραότητος, οὔδὲ τῷ φέρειν μετρίως τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἀλλ’ ἐμπαθὴς οὖν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς καὶ βαρυφροσύνης, ὑπὲρ ἀγνοοῦσιν οἶ 2 πολλὸλ λύπην οὕσαν. ὅταν γὰρ εἰς θυμὸν μεταβάλῃ, καθάπερ ἐκπυρωθείσα τὸ ταπεινόν ἀποβάλλει καὶ ἄργον· ἢ καὶ δοκεῖ δραστικὸς ὁ θυμούμενος ὡς θερμὸς ὁ πυρέττων, οἷον ἐν σφυγμῷ καὶ διατάσει καὶ ὄγκῳ γεγομένης τῆς ψυχῆς. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτίκα μάλα τὴν διάθεσιν ταύτην ὁ Μάρκιος.

3 Εἰσελθὼν γὰρ οἴκαδε, καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν 224 γυναῖκα μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ βοήθιος ὀλοφυρομένας ἀσπασάμενος καὶ κελεύσας μετρίως φέρειν τὸ

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by tribes, and a majority of three condemned him.\textsuperscript{1} The penalty assigned was perpetual banishment. After the result was announced, the people went off in greater elation and delight than they had ever shown for any victory in battle over their enemies; but the senate was in distress and dire dejection, repenting now and vexed to the soul that they had not done and suffered all things rather than allow the people to insult them in the exercise of such great powers. And there was no need now of dress or other marks of distinction in telling one class from another, but it was clear at once that he who rejoiced was a plebeian, and he who was vexed, a patrician.

XXI. Albeit Marcius himself, who was neither daunted nor humbled, but in mien, port, and countenance fully composed, seemed the only man among all the distressed patricians who was not touched by his evil plight. And this was not due to calculation, or gentleness, or to a calm endurance of his fate, but he was stirred by rage and deep resentment, and this, although the many know it not, is pain. For when pain is transmuted into anger, it is consumed, as it were, by its flames, and casts off its own humility and sloth. Wherefore the angry man makes a show of activity, as he who has a fever is hot, his spirit being, so to speak, afflicted with throbbing, distension, and inflation. And that such was his condition, Marcius showed right quickly by his conduct.

He went home, where his mother and his wife met him with wailings and loud lamentations, and after embracing them and bidding them to bear with equanimity the fate that had come upon them, he

\textsuperscript{1} Dionysius Hal. (vii. 64) says that nine of the twenty-one tribes voted to acquit Marcius.
συμβεβηκός, ευθὺς ἀπὶ ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. ἔκει δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ὁμοῦ πάντων προπεμπόντων αὐτῶν οὔτε τι λαβὼν οὔτε τινὸς δεσπότης ἀπηλλάττετο, τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας πελάτας ἐχὼν 4 περὶ αὐτῶν. ἡμέρας δὲ ὀλίγας ἐν τισιν ἄγροις αὐτῶς καθ᾽ ἐαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν διενεχθές διαλογισμῶν, οἶνος ὁ θυμὸς ὑπέβαλλεν, ὡστ’ οὕτ’ εἰς καλὸν οὔτε συμφέρον οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἢ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις μετελθεῖν, ἐγίνωσκε πόλεμον τινα βαρὸν καὶ ὁμορον ἀναστήσαι ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς. ὁμηρμησεν οὖν διαπεράσθαι πρὸ τοῦ Ὀὐολούσκων, ἀκραζοντας μὲν εἰδὼς ἐτι καὶ σώμασι καὶ χρήσαι, ταῖς δὲ γεγενημέναις ἔναγχος ἔταις οὗ τοσοῦτον ἀπολωλέναι τής δυνάμεως ὅσον ἐγγεγονέναι φιλονεικίας αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁργῆς οἴομενος.

XXII. Ἡ ἡ δὲ τῆς ἁνηρ ἔξ᾽ Ἀντίοχο πόλεως διὰ τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ γένους ἐπιφάνειαν ἀξίωμα βασιλικόν ἐχὼν ἐν πάσιν Ὀὐολούσκωις, ὄνομα Τύλλος Ἀμφίδιος. ὑπὸ τοῦτον μισοῦμενον οἱ Μάρκιος ἐαυτὸν ὡς οὔδένα Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνωσκεν πολλάκις γὰρ ἐν ἀπειλαῖς καὶ προκλῆσει κατὰ τὰς μάχας γενόμενοι, καὶ κομπάσαντες διὰ τὸ ἐνάμιλλον οἱ νεανίων πολεμικῶν φιλοτιμία καὶ ζηλοὶ φέρουσιν, ἰδιον προσεκτήσαντο τῷ κοινῷ τὸ 2 κατ᾽ ἄλληλων ἐχθῶς. οὗ μὴν ἀλλὰ μέγεθός τι φρονήματος ἔχοντα τὸν Τύλλον ὄρῳν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Ὀὐολούσκων ἐπιθυμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις λαβὴν παρασχόντας ἐν μέρει κολοῦσαι, μαρτυρίαν ἀπέλιπε τῷ εἰπότιν. "Θυμῷ μάχεσθαι χαλεπόν οὔ
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straightway departed and went to the city gate. Thither all the patricians in a body escorted him, but without taking anything or asking for anything he departed, having only three or four of his clients with him. For a few days he remained by himself at some country place, torn by many conflicting counsels, such as his anger suggested to him, purposing no good or helpful thing at all, but only how he might take vengeance on the Romans. At last he determined to incite some neighbouring nation to a formidable war against them. Accordingly, he set out to make trial of the Volscians first, knowing that they were still abundantly supplied with men and money, and thinking that they had been not so much crippled in power by their recent defeats as filled with contentious wrath against the Romans.

XXII. Now there was a certain man of Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name, who, by reason of his wealth and bravery and conspicuous lineage, had the standing of a king among all the Volscians. By this man Marcus knew himself to be hated as no other Roman was; for they had often exchanged threats and challenges in the battles which they had fought, and such emulous boastings as the ambitious ardour of youthful warriors prompts had given rise to a mutual hatred of their own, in addition to that of their peoples. However, since he saw that Tullus had a certain grandeur of spirit, and that he, more than all other Volscians, was eager to retaliate upon the Romans, if they gave him any opportunity, Marcus bore witness to the truth of him who said 1: "With anger it is hard to fight; for whatsoever it wishes,

1 Heracleitus, Fragment 105 (Bywater, Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae, p. 41).
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γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ, ψυχῆς ὄνειται.” λαβὼν γὰρ ἐσθήτα καὶ σκέψην ἐν ἧ μάλιστα μὴ δόξειν ὃς ἦν ἐμελλεν ὁρῶμενος, ὥσπερ Ὅδυσσεύς,

Ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων κατέδυ πόλιν.

XXIII. Ἦν δ’ ἐστέρα, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῷ προσετύγχανον, ἐγνώριζε δ’ ούδεὶς. ἐβάδιζεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Τύλλου, καὶ παρεισελθὼν ἄφων πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν ἐκάθισε σιωπῇ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἤσυχίαν ἴγεν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν θαυμάσαντες ἀναστῆσαι μὲν οὐκ ἔτολμησαν (ἤν γὰρ τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄξιόμα τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς), ἔφρασαν δὲ τῷ Τύλλῳ περὶ δείπνου ὅτι τὴν ἄτοπιάν τοῦ πράγματος. ὁ δ’ ἐξαναστὰς ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀνέκρινε τίς ὄν ἀφίκται καὶ τίνων δεόμενος. οὕτως οὖν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀποκαλυψάμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἀνασχών, “Εἰ μήπως με γινώσκεις, ὃ Τύλλε,” εἴπεν, “ἀλλ’ ὅρων ἀπιστεῖς, ἀνάγκη με κατήγορον ἐμαυτοῦ γενέσθαι. Γάιός εἰμι Μάρκιος, ὁ πλείστα σὲ καὶ Οὐδολούσκους ἐργασάμενος κακά, καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἔσωσαν ἀρνείσθαι ταύτα περι-3 φέρων προσηγορίαν τοῦ Κοριολανῶν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλο τῶν πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ἐκείνων ἐκτησάμην ἐπαθλοῦν ἢ τὸ παράσημον ὄνομα τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐχθρας. καὶ τοῦτο μοι περίεστιν ἀναφαίρετον· τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ὠμοῦ πάντα φθόνῳ δήμου καὶ ὑβρεῖ, μαλακία δὲ καὶ προδοσία τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἱσοτίμων ἀπεστέρημαι, καὶ φυγὰς ἐλήλαμαι, καὶ γέγονα τῆς ἑστίας τῆς σής ἱκέτης, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀδείας καὶ σωτηρίας (τί γὰρ ἔδει με
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that it buys, even at the cost of life.” For, putting on such clothing and attire as would make him seem, to any one who saw him, least like the man he was, like Odysseus,

“He went into the city of his deadly foes.”

XXIII. It was evening, and many met him, but no man knew him. He proceeded, therefore, to the house of Tullus, and slipping in unawares, took his seat at the hearth in silence, covered his head, and remained there motionless. The people of the house were amazed, and did not venture to raise him up, for his mien and his silence gave him a certain dignity; but they told Tullus, who was at supper, what a strange thing had happened. Tullus rose from table and came to him, and asked him who he was, and why he was come. At this, then, Marcius uncovered his head, and after a slight pause, said: “If thou dost not yet recognize me, Tullus, but disbelievest thine eyes, I must be my own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, he who has wrought thee and the Volscians most harm, and the surname of Coriolanus which I bear permits no denial of this. I have won no other prize for all the toils and perils which I have undergone than the name which is a badge of my enmity to your people. This, indeed, cannot be taken away from me; but of everything else I have been stripped, through the envy and insolence of the Roman people, and the cowardly treachery of the magistrates and those of my own order. I have been driven into exile, too, and am become a suppliant at thy hearth, not for the sake of security and safety,—

1 Odyssey, iv. 246.
deiropo ἤκειν φοβούμενον ἀποθανεῖν;) ἀλλὰ δίκας λαβεῖν χρήζων, καὶ λαμβάνων ἡδη παρὰ τῶν 4 ἐκβαλλόντων τὸ σὲ ποιεῖν ἐμαυτοῦ κύριον. ei μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ σοι θυμὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίωις, ἢδη, ταῖς ἐμαῖς συμφοραῖς, ὡ γενναίες, χρήσαι, καὶ κοινῶν εὐτύχια ποίησον Οὐολούσκων τὴν ἐμὴν ἀτυχίαν, τοσοῦτῳ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πολεμήσοντος ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς πολέμουσι βέλτιον οἱ γινώσκοντες τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίωις τῶν ἀγνοοῦντων. ei δ’ ἀπείρηκας, οὔτ’ ἐγὼ βουλομαι ξῆν 225 οὗτε σοὶ καλῶς ἔχει σώζειν πάλαι μὲν ἐχθρὸν ἀνδρὰ καὶ πολέμιον, νῦν δ’ ἀνωφελὴ καὶ ἄχρηστον.”

5 Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τύλλος ἠκούσεν, ἤσθη τε ἀναμαστῶς καὶ τὴν ἀδεξίαν ἐμβαλὼν, “Ἀνίστασθο,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Μάρκιε, καὶ θάρρει. μέγα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν ἤκεις διὸ ἵνα σεαυτόν, ἔπιξε δὲ μείζονα παρὰ Οὐολούσκων.” καὶ τότε μὲν εἰσὶν φιλοφρονοῦμενοι τῶν Μάρκιον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπισύρσαι ἡμέραις ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καθ’ ἐαυτοῦς.

XXIV. Τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ἦ τε τῶν πατρικίων δυσμένεια πρὸς τὸν δήμον, οὐχ ἦκιστα τὴν τοῦ Μαρκίου καταδίκην αἰτίαν ἐχόντων, ἐτάρρατε, καὶ πολλὰ δαιμόνια μάντεις καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱδίωται προσήγγελλαν ἄξια φροντίδος. ἐν δὲ λέγεται τοιοῦτο τι γενέσθαι. Τίτως ἦν Λατῖνος, ἀνὴρ οὖκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῆς, ἀπράγμων δὲ καὶ μέτριος ἄλλως

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1 Livy simply says that Marcius was kindly received by the Volscians, and that he lodged with Tullus (ii. 35, 6). Chapters xxi.–xxiii. agree closely with Dionysius Hal. vii. 67 and viii. 1.

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for why should I come hither if I were afraid of death?—but with a desire to take vengeance on those who have driven me forth, which I take at once when I put myself in thy power. If, then, thou art eager to assail thine enemies, come, good Sir, take advantage of my calamities, and make my individual misfortune the good fortune of all the Volscians; I shall fight better for you than I have against you, in just so far as those who know the secrets of their enemies fight better than those who do not. But if thou hast given up hope, neither do I wish to live, nor is it for thine advantage to spare one who has long been an enemy and a foe, and now is unprofitable and useless.”

When Tullus heard this, he was wonderfully pleased, and giving him his right hand, said: “Rise up, Marcius, and be of good courage. In giving thyself to us, thou bringest us a great good, and thou mayest expect a greater one still from the Volscians.” Then he entertained Marcius at table with every mark of kindness, and during the ensuing days they took counsel together concerning the war.¹

XXIV. But at Rome, owing to the hatred of the people by the patricians, who were especially embittered by the condemnation of Marcius, there were great commotions, and many signs from heaven were reported by seers, priests, and private persons, which could not be ignored. One of these is said to have been as follows. There was one Titus Latinus,² a man of no great prominence, but of quiet and modest life in general, and free from superstitious fears, as

¹ The story is found in Livy, ii. 36, and in Valerius Maximus, i. 7, 4.
καὶ καθαρὸς δειγματίμονιας, ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀλα-2 ξονείας. οὗτος δὲ οἷς ὦς τοῦ Δίως εἰς ὅψιν ἥκοντος αὐτῷ καὶ κελεύοντος εἶπεν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι κακῶν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐστειλαν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς πομπῆς καὶ ἀπερπέστατον. ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν ὤψιν ἔλεγε μὴ πάνω φοινίκαι τὸ πρῶτον ὡς δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἰδὼν καὶ τρίτον ἡμέλησε, παίδος τῷ χρηστῷ θάνατον ἐπιδείξκει καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἁψυχωπαρεθέντος ἄκρατης γενέσθαι. 3 ταύτα δὲ ἐν κλινιδίῳ φοράδῃ κομίσθηκε εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπήγγειλεν. ἀπαγγέλθηκε δ᾿, ὡς φασίν, εὕθες ἔσθετο ρωμύμενον αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθε δι᾿ αὐτοῦ βαδίζων. θαυμάζοντες οὖν ὁ βουλευταὶ πολλὴν ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ πράγματος ἔπραξαν. 4 ἦν δὲ τοιούτων οἰκήτην τις αὐτῶν παραδοῦσαν οἰκέταις ἐτέροις ἐκέλευσεν ἐξάγειν δι᾽ ἀγορᾶς μαστιγοῦντας, εἰτ’ ἀποκτεῖναι. ταύτα πράττοντι αὐτῶς καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον αἰκίζομένοις, στροφάς τε παντοδαπὰς ὑπὸ ὀδύνης στρεφόμενον καὶ κινήσεις ἄλλας ἀπερπέστος τῷ περιπαθεῖν κινούμενον, ἡ πομπὴ κατὰ τύχην ἠκολουθήκει. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδυσχέραινον τῶν παρόντων, οὐτ’ ὡς εὐαγγελοῦται όποτε κινήσεις πρεποῦσας, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐπεξήλθεν, ἀλλὰ λοιδορίας μόνον ἔγενοντο καὶ κατάραι τῷ πικρῶς οὕτως κολάζοντες. καὶ γὰρ ἔχρωντο πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπιεικεῖα τότε, διὰ αὐτουργίαν καὶ τὸ κοινωνεῖν διαίτης ἠμερώτερον ἔχοντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ 5 συνηθεστέρου. ἦν δὲ μεγάλη κόλασις οἰκέτου πλημμελήσαντος, εἰ ξύλον ἀμάξης, φῶς τὸν ῥυμὸν.
he was also, and yet more, from vain pretensions. This man dreamed that Jupiter appeared to him, and bade him tell the senate that the dancer, whom they had appointed to head his procession, was a bad one, and gave him the greatest displeasure. After having this vision, Titus said, he gave it no thought at all at first, but after he had seen it a second and a third time, and still neglected it, he had suffered the loss of an excellent son by death, and had himself become suddenly palsied. This story he told after having been brought into the senate on a litter, and no sooner had he told it, they say, than he at once felt the strength return to his body, and rose up, and went away, walking without aid. In amazement, then, the senators made a careful investigation of the matter.

Now, what had happened was this. A certain man had handed over one of his slaves to other slaves, with orders to scourge him through the forum, and then put him to death. While they were executing this commission and tormenting the poor wretch, whose pain and suffering made him writhe and twist himself horribly, the sacred procession in honour of Jupiter chanced to come up behind. Many of those who took part in it were, indeed, scandalized at the joyless sight and the unseemly contortions of the victim, but no one made any protest; they merely heaped abuse and curses on the head of the master who was inflicting such a cruel punishment. For in those days the Romans treated their slaves with great kindness, because they worked and even ate with them themselves, and were therefore more familiar and gentle with them. And it was a severe punishment for a slave who had committed a fault, if he
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υπερείδουσιν, ἀράμενος διεξέλθοι παρὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν. ὁ γὰρ τούτῳ παθὼν καὶ ὄφθεις παρὰ τῶν συνοίκων καὶ γειτόνων οὐκέτι πίστιν εἶχεν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ φούρκυφερ. ὁ γὰρ οἱ "Ελληνες ύποστάτην καὶ στήριγμα, τούτῳ Ρωμαίοι φούρκαν ὀνομάζουσιν.

XXV. Ὡς οὖν ὁ Δατῖνος ἀπήγγειλε τὴν ὁφεν αὐτοῖς καὶ διηπόρουν ὡστε ἢν ὁ τῆς πομπῆς τότε προηγούμενος ἀτερπῆς καὶ κακός ὀρχηστής, ἀνεμνήσθησαν ἕνιοι διὰ τὴν ἄτοπιαν τῆς τιμωρίας ἑκείνων τοῦ θεράποντος, ὑπέμαστο αὐτοῖς ἐξήγαγον ὃν ἄγορᾶς, εἴτ' ἐθανάτωσαν. συμφωνησάντων οὖν τῶν ἱερέων ὃ τε δεσπότης δίκην ἔδωκεν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν πομπὴν καὶ τὰς θέας αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχής ἐπετέλουσιν.

2 Ἐσικεν οὖν ὁ Νομᾶς τὰ τ' ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν σοφότατος ἐξηγητῆς γεγονέναι, καὶ τούτῳ παγκάλως γε νομοθετήσαι πρὸς εὐλαβείαν αὐτοῖς. ὅταν γὰρ ἀρχοντες ἢ ἱερεῖς πράττοντι τι τῶν θείων, ὁ κήρυξ πρόεισι μεγάλῃ φωνῇ βοῶν, ""Οκ ἀγε." σημαίνει δ' ἡ φωνή, τοῦτο πρᾶττε, προσέχειν κελεύουσα τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ μηδὲν ἐργον ἐμβαλεῖν μεταξὺ μηδὲ χρείαν ἀσχολίας, ὡς τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀναγκαῖος τινὶ τρόπῳ καὶ διὰ βλασ 3 περαινόμενα. θυσίας δὲ καὶ πομπᾶς καὶ θέας

1 According to Livy (ii. 36 and 37), it was at the repetition of the great games, which was made necessary by the
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was obliged to take the piece of wood with which they prop up the pole of a waggon, and carry it around through the neighbourhood. For he who had been seen undergoing this punishment no longer had any credit in his own or neighbouring households. And he was called “furcifer”; for what the Greeks call a prop, or support, is called “furca” by the Romans.

XXV. When, therefore, Latinus had reported his vision to the senators, and they were at a loss to know who the unpleasant and bad dancer was who had headed the procession referred to, some of them were led, owing to the extraordinary nature of his punishment, to think of the slave who had been scourged through the forum and then put to death. Accordingly, with the concurrence of the priests, the master of the slave was punished, and the procession and spectacles in honour of the god were exhibited anew.¹

Now it would seem that Numa, who in other respects also was a very wise director of sacred rites, had very properly sought to secure the people’s reverent attention by means of the following ordinance. When, namely, magistrates or priests perform any religious function, a herald goes before, crying with a loud voice, “Hoc age.” The meaning of the cry is, Mind this! and it warns the people to give heed to the sacred rites, and suffer no task or demand of business to intervene,² implying that men perform most of their duties under some sort of compulsion and by constraint. And it is customary for

¹ proftanation made known by the dream of Latinus, that the Volscians were sent out of the city, as described by Plutarch in chapter xxvi. 1. Cf. Numa, xiv. 2.
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οὐ μόνον ἐξ αἰτίας τηλικαύτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ μικρὸς Ῥωμαιὸς ἔθος ἔστιν ἀναλαμβάνειν. ἵπ-που τε γὰρ ἐνδὸς τῶν ἀγόντων τὰς καλουμένας θήσεις ἀτονήσαντος, καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ἡμόχου τῇ ἀριστερᾶ χείρι τὰς ἴνας συλλαβόντος, αὖθις ἐγκήσαστο τὴν πομπὴν ἐπιτελεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοὺς κάτω χρόνοις μίαν θυσίαν τριακοντάκις ἐποίησαν, αἱ τινος ἐλλείμματος ἡ προσκρούσματος γίνεσθαι δοκοῦντος. τοιαύτη μὲν εὐλάβεια πρὸς τὸ θεῖον Ῥωμαιῶν.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος καὶ Τύλλος ἐν Ἀντίφ τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις κρύφα διελέγουσι, καὶ παρεκάλουν, ἐως στασιάζουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τῶν πόλεων ἔξων, τῶν δὲ δυσωπομένων, ὅτι σπουδαί διέτεις ἠσάν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοχαὶ γεγενημέναι, πρόφασιν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαιοὶ παρέσχουν, ἢ ἐκ τινος ὑποψίας ἡ διαβολής ἐν θέαις καὶ ἀγώσι χρήζαντες ἀπίεσαν Οὐσολόσκους πρὸ 2 ἡλίου δύνοντος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἐνιοῦ δὲ φασιν ἀπάτη τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ δόλῳ γενέσθαι τοῦτο, πέμψαντος εἰς Ῥώμην πρὸς τοὺς ἅρχοντας οὐκ ἀληθῆ κατήγοροι τῶν Οὐσολόσκων, ὡς ἐν ταῖς θέαις διανοούμενοι ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαιοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπυράν. πάντας μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦτο δυσμενέστερος ἐποίησε τοῖς Ῥωμαιοῖς; ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἐπὶ μεῖζον αἴρων τὸ πράγμα καὶ παροξύνων τέλος ἐπεισε πέμψαντας εἰς Ῥώμην τὴν τε χώραν ἀπαυτεῖν καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσα ἀφήησαν πολέμῳ τῶν Οὐσολό-

1 See the following Comparison, ii. 2.
2 According to Livy (ii. 37, 1–7), it was Tullus himself.
the Romans to renew sacrifices and processions and spectacles, not only for such a reason as the above, but also for trivial reasons. For instance, if one of the horses drawing the sacred chariots called Tensae gives out; or again, if the charioteer takes hold of the reins with his left hand, they decree that the procession be renewed. And in later ages, a single sacrifice has been performed thirty times, because again and again some failure or offence was thought to occur. Such is the reverent care of the Romans in religious matters.

XXVI. But Marcius and Tullus were secretly conferring at Antium with the chief men, and were urging them to begin the war while the Romans were torn by internal dissensions. And when shame restrained them from this course, because they had agreed to a truce and cessation of hostilities for two years, the Romans themselves furnished them with a pretext, by making proclamation at the spectacles and games, because of some suspicion or slanderous report, that the visiting Volscians must leave the city before sunset. Some say¹ that this was due to a deceitful stratagem of Marcius, who sent a man to the consuls in Rome, bearing the false charge that the Volscians purposed to fall upon the Romans at the spectacles, and set the city on fire.² This proclamation made all the Volscians more embittered against the Romans; and Tullus, magnifying the incident, and goading them on, at last persuaded them to send ambassadors to Rome ³ and demand back the territory and the cities which had been who came to the consuls, as had been planned with Marcius. Plutarch agrees rather with Dionysius Hal. viii. 3.

¹ Livy speaks only of a revolt (ii. 38, Æn.). Plutarch agrees with Dionysius Hal. viii. 4–10.
3 σκων. οἱ δὲ Ἡρωαὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀκούσαντες ἤγανάκτησαν, καὶ ἀπεκρίνοντο προτέρους μὲν ἀναλήψεθαι τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς Όυολούσκους, ἵστε- ρους δὲ καταδήσεθαι Ἡρωαῖος. ἕκ τούτου συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν πάνθημον ὁ Τύλλος, ἔστει τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, συνεβούλευε τὸν Μάρ- κιον καλέσαι, μηδὲν αὐτῷ μυθικακοῦντας, ἀλλὰ πιστεύσαντας ὅτι συμμαχῶν ὀφελήσει ὅσα πολε- μῶν οὐκ ἔβλαψεν.

XXVII. Ἐστεὶ δὲ κληθεὶς ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ δια- λεγθεὶς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὐχ ἤττον ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων ἢ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀνὴρ δεινὸς ἐφάνη καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ τολμᾶν περιττός, ἀποδείκνυται μετὰ Τύλλου στρατηγὸς αὐτο- 2 κράτωρ τοῦ πολέμου. δεδώσε δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ παρασκευάσασθαι τοὺς Όυολούσκους ἔδει, μὴ πολὺς γενόμενος τὸν καιρὸν ἀφέληται τῆς πράξεως, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν δυνατοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐκέλευε συνάγειν καὶ πορίζειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους ἀνεῖ κατάλογον πείσας ἐκόντας αὐτῷ συνεξελθεῖν, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἡρωαίων ἅψω καὶ μηδένιος προσδοκῶν- 3 τοὺς. οὗθεν ἠπόρησε λείας τοσαύτης ὀσμὴν ἁγοντας καὶ φέροντας καὶ χρωμένους ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοὺς Όυολούσκους ἀπειπεῖν. ἦν δὲ μικρότατον ἔργον αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἐκείνης ἡ εὐπορία καὶ τὸ πολλὰ βλάψαι καὶ κακώσαι τὴν χώραν· οὐ δὲ ἐνεκα ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττε, μέγα, τὸ τοῦ πατρικίους
taken from the Volscians in war. But the Romans, after hearing the ambassadors, were full of indignation, and replied that the Volscians might be first to take up arms, but the Romans would be last to lay them down. Upon receiving this answer, Tullus called a general assembly of his people, and after they had voted for the war, advised them to call in Marcius, cherishing no resentment against him, but firmly convinced that he would be more helpful as an ally than he had been injurious as a foe.

XXVII. Marcius was therefore called in, and held a conference with the assembly; they saw from his speech that he was as eloquent as his exploits in arms had taught them that he was warlike, and were convinced of his surpassing intelligence and daring; so they appointed him general with Tullus, and gave him full powers to conduct the war. Fearing, then, that the time needed to equip and marshal the Volscians would be so long as to rob him of his best opportunity for action, he left orders with the magistrates and chief men of the city to assemble and provide the remaining forces and supplies that were requisite, while he himself, after persuading the most ardent spirits to march forth as volunteers with him and not stop for formal enrolment, burst into the Roman territory of a sudden, when no one expected it. Consequently he secured such abundance of booty that the Volscians had more than they could possibly do to use it in their camp or carry it off home. But the abundant supplies secured, and the great injury and damage done to the enemy’s country, were, in his eyes, the most insignificant result of that expedition; its chief result, and his main object in making it, was to furnish the people of Rome with
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προσδιαβαλεῖν τῷ δήμῳ. τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντα λυμαινόμενοι καὶ διαφθείρων, τοὺς ἐκείνων ἀγροὺς ἱσχυρῶς ἐφύλαττε, καὶ οὐκ εἶα κακουργεῖν οὐδὲ 4 λαμβάνειν ἐξ ἐκείνων οὐδέν. ὅθεν ἐν διαβολαῖς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο καὶ ταραχαὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους, οἱ μὲν πατρίκιοι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντες ὡς ἄνδρα δυνατὸν ἁδίκως ἐκβαλοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκείνους ἂντιτο διὰ μνημοσυνίαν ἐπάγειν τὸν Μάρκιον, εἶτα πολεμουμένων ἔτερων θεατὰς καθῆκαν, φύλακα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῶν χρη-

μάτων ἐξω τῶν πολέμων αὐτῶν ἔχοντας. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι ὁ Μάρκιος, καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ καταφρονέων τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ὀὐολούσκους ὑφελήσας, ἀπῆγαγεν ἀσφαλῶς.

XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα ταχὺ καὶ προθύμως ἡ τῶν Ὀὐολούσκων δύναμις ἠθρώσθη πολλῇ φανείσα, μέρος μὲν ἐγνωσαν ὑπολιτείᾳ ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας, μέρει δὲ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους: ἐλέσθαι δὲ τῶν ἁγεμονιῶν ὁ Μάρκιος ἔδωκε τῷ Τύλλῳ τὴν ἐτέραν. ὁ δὲ Τύλλος, εἰπὼν ὡς οὖν ἄρετή λειτόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸν Μάρκιον ὃς, τόχῳ δὲ βελτίων κεχρημένον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπάσαις, ἐκέλευςεν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν 227 ἐξιόντων, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς τε πόλεις ὑποτείνον φυλάξειν καὶ τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑποργήσειν 2 τὰ πρόσφορα. μᾶλλον οὖν ἐπιρρωσθεῖς ὁ Μάρ-

κιος ἐξώρει πρῶτον ἐπὶ Κίρκαιον, πόλιν ἀποκιὰδα

1 There is nothing of this preliminary foray in Livy. It is on the main expedition (chap. xxviii.) that the patrician lands
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fresh charges against the patricians. For while he maltreated and destroyed everything else, he kept a vigorous watch over the lands of the patricians, and would not suffer anyone to hurt them or take anything from them. This led to still further accusations and broils between the parties in the city; the patricians accused the people of unjustly driving out an influential man, and the people charged the patricians with bringing Marcius up against them in a spirit of revenge, and then enjoying the spectacle of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself protected their own wealth and property outside the city. After Marcius had accomplished his purposes, and greatly helped the Volscians towards courage and scorn of their enemies, he led his forces back in safety.¹

XXVIII. The entire force of the Volscians was assembled with speed and alacrity, and was then seen to be so large that they determined to leave a part of it behind for the security of their cities, and with the other part to march against the Romans. Moreover, Marcius left it to the choice of Tullus which of the two divisions he would command. Then Tullus, remarking that Marcius was clearly in no wise inferior to himself in valour, and had enjoyed a better fortune in all his battles, bade him lead the division that was to take the field, and he himself would remain behind to guard the cities and provide what was requisite for the army abroad.² With a stronger force than before, then, Marcius set out first against Circeii, a city which was a colony of Rome; are spared (ii. 39). According to Dionysius (viii. 12), Tullus led one division into the territory of the Latins, Marcius the other into that of Rome, and both brought back enormous booty.

¹ Cf. Dionysius, viii. 13.

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Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ταύτην ἐνδοῦσαν ἐκουσίως οὐδὲν ἡδίκεισε. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἔπορθε τὴν Δατίνων χώραν, ἐνταῦθα προσμαχεῖσθαι προσδεχόμενος αυτῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπὲρ τῶν Δατίνων συμμάχων ὄντων καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλοῦμεν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπρόθυμον ἐγενετο καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὄλγος ἔτι περιή τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος, ἐν δὲ κυνδυνεύειν οὐκ ἔβολοντο, καὶ διὰ ταύτα τοὺς Δατίνους ἀπέπεμψαν, οὕτως ὁ Μάρκιος ἐπ’ αὐτάς τὰς πόλεις ἤγε, καὶ Τολερίνους καὶ Δαουκανοὺς καὶ Πεδανοὺς, ἐντὸς ὑδανοῦς ἀντιστάντας αὐτῷ κατὰ κράτος ἐλών, τὰ τε σώματα λείαν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰ χρήματα διηρτάσε. τῶν δὲ προστιθεμένων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιεῖτο πολλήν, ὅπως μηδ’ ἀκοντος αὐτοῦ βλάπτοιτο, πορρωτάτω στρατοπεδεύων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπεχόμενος.

XXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Βόλλας πόλιν οὐ πλεῖον σταδίους ἐκατέριον ἀπέχουσαν ἡς Ῥώμης ἔλθον χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐκράτησε καὶ πάντας ἄλγους ἐν τοῖς ἥλικία διέφθειρε, τῶν δὲ Οὐολούσκων οὐδ’ οἱ μένειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεις ταχθέντες ἐκαρτέρουσ, ἄλλ’ ἐφέροντο σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον, ἔνα στρατηγὸν καὶ μόνον ἄρχοντα ἐκεῖνον καὶ μονόν ἄρχοντα ἐκεῖνον εἶναι λέγοντα, ἢν ὄνομα κατὰ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μέγα καὶ δόξα θαυμαστὴν, τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνὸς σώματος μεταθέσει τοσοῦτον ἀπεργασαμένης τὸ παράλογον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι.

2 Tὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα κόσμον εἶχε, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἀπεγγυκότων, ἐν δὲ συστάσει καὶ λόγοις στασιαστικοῖς ὁσμέραι πρὸς ἄλληλους 186
this surrendered to him of its own accord, and he did it no harm. Next, he laid waste the country of the Latins, where he expected that the Romans would engage him in defence of the Latins, who were their allies and by frequent messengers were calling upon them for help. But the commons were indifferent to the appeal, the consuls were unwilling to risk a campaign during the short time left of their term of office, and therefore the Latin envoys were dismissed. Under these circumstances Marcius led his forces against their cities, and taking by assault those which offered resistance to him, namely, Tolerium, Lavicum, Pedum, and later Bola, he made slaves of the inhabitants and plundered their property. But for those who came over to him of their own accord he showed much concern, and that they might suffer no harm, even against his wishes, he encamped as far as he could from them, and held aloof from their territory.

XXIX. But after he had taken Bola, a city not more than twelve miles away from Rome, where he got much treasure and put almost all the adults to the sword; and after the Volscians even who had been ordered to remain in their cities grew impatient, and came trooping in arms to Marcius, declaring that he was the sole and only general whom they would recognize as their leader, then his name was great throughout all Italy, and men thought with amazement how the valour of a single man, upon his changing sides, had effected such a marvellous turn in affairs.

At Rome, however, all was disorder; its citizens refused to fight, and spent their whole time in cabals and factious disputes with one another, until tidings
δντων, ἀχρὶ οὗ Δαουδιον ἀπηγγέλθη περιτείχισμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅπου καὶ θέων ἱερὰ Πρωμαίου πατρῴων ἀπέκειτο, καὶ τοῦ γένους ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ἅρχαι, διὸ τὸ πρῶτην πόλιν ἔκεινην 3 κτίσαι τὸν Αἰνείαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θωμαστὴ μὲν ἔσχε καὶ ἅθροα μεταβολὴ γνώμης τὸν δήμον, ἀτόπους δὲ κομιδὴ καὶ παράλογος τοὺς πατρικίους. οὐ μὲν γὰρ δήμος ὀρμησε λύειν τὴν τοῦ Μαρκίου καταδίκην καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἢ δὲ βουλὴ συναχθεῖσα καὶ σκοποῦσα περὶ τοῦ βουλευόμενος ἀπέγνω καὶ διεκώλυσεν, εἰτὲ πάντως ἐνίστασθαι φιλονεικοῦσα πάσιν οἷς ὁ δήμος 4 ἐσπούδαζεν, εἰτὲ ἄλλως χάριτι τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἀνδρα μὴ βουλομένη κατελθεῖν, εἰτὲ κακεῖνον αὐτὸν ἣδη πεποιημένη διὸ ὁργῆς, ὅτι πάντας ἐποίει κακῶς σύν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνωσμοιηθεῖς, καὶ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὸν ἐδείξεν ἐχθρόν, ἐν ἒ τὸ κυριώτατον καὶ κράτιστον μέρος ἐγίνοντος συμπαθοῦντι αὐτῷ καὶ συναδικούμενον. ἐξεναχθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὁ μὲν δήμος ἄκυρος ἦν τοῦ ψήφῳ καὶ νόμῳ τι ποιεῖν ἀνευ προβουλεύματος.

XXX. Ὁ Μάρκιος ἄκούσας ἔτι μάλλον ἔξετραχύνθη, καὶ τὴν πολυρκίαν ἄποιλπων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἐχώρει, καὶ περὶ τὰς λεγομένας Κλοωλίας τάφρους κατεστρατοπέδευσε τεσσαράκοντα τῆς πόλεως στάδιοις ἀφεστῶς. ὁφθεὶς δὲ φοβερός καὶ πολὺς θόρυβον παρασχὼν, ὅμως ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῇ στάσιν ἔπαινεν· οὕδεις γὰρ ἐτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐτόλμησεν ἀντιπειτεῖν οὔτ' ἄρχων οὔτε βουλευτὴς περὶ τοῦ τοῦ Μάρκιον 2 κατάγειν, ἀλλ' ὀρῶντες ἐν τῇ πόλει διαδρομᾶς.
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came that the enemy had laid close siege to Lavinium, where the sacred symbols of the ancestral gods of the Romans were stored up, and from which their nation took its origin, since that was the first city which Aeneas founded. This produced an astonishing and universal change of opinion in the commons, as well as one which was altogether strange and unexpected in the patricians. For the commons were eager to repeal the sentence against Marcius and invite him back to the city; whereas the senate, on assembling and considering the proposition, rejected and vetoed it; either because they were angrily bent on opposing all the people’s desires; or else because they were unwilling that Marcius should owe his restoration to the kindness of the people; or because they were now angry at Marcius himself, seeing that he was injuring all alike, although he had not been ill-treated by all, and showed himself an enemy of his whole country, although he knew that the most influential and powerful men in it sympathised with him and shared in his wrongs. When this decision of the senate was made public, the people was powerless; it could not by its vote enact a law, without a previous decree of the senate.

XXX. But Marcius, when he heard of it, was yet more exasperated, and raising the siege of Lavinium, marched against Rome in wrath, and encamped at the so-called Fossae Cluiliae, only five miles distant from the city. Although the sight of him produced terror and great confusion there, still, it put a stop for the present to their dissensions; for no one longer, whether consul or senator, dared to oppose the people in the matter of restoring Marcius. On the contrary, when they saw the women running frantic in the
γυναικῶν καὶ πρὸς ίεροῖς ἰκεσίας καὶ δάκρυα
πρεσβυτῶν καὶ δέησεις, πάντα δ’ εὐδεὰ τόλμησις
καὶ σωτηρίων λογισμῶν, συνέγνωσαν ὄρθως τὸν
dήμον ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τοῦ Μαρκίου τραπέ-
σθαι, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνειν, ὅτε
παύσασθαι καλῶς εἴχεν ὀργῆς καὶ μυθισκακίας, 228
ἀρχομένην. ἔδοξεν οὖν πᾶσι πρέσβεις ἀπο-
στείλαι πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον ἐκείνῳ τε κάθοδον
dιδόντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς
3 λύσαι δεομένους. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἀπὸ βουλῆς
ῄσαν μὲν ἐπιτήδειοι τῷ Μαρκίῳ, προσεδέχοντο
dὲ πολλὴν περί γε τὰς πρῶτας ἀπαντήσεις
φιλοφροσύνην παρ’ ἀνδρὸς οἰκεῖου καὶ συνθῆσιος.
ἐγίνετο δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου τῶν πολεμίων ἀχθέντες ἐνετύχανον αὐτῷ
μετ’ θυγκοῦ καθεζομένως καὶ βαρύτητος οὐκ ἀνεκ-
4 τῆς. ἔχων δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν Ὄυολούσκων
περὶ αὐτόν, ἐκέλευε λέγειν δὲν δεόμενοι τυγχά-
νουσιν. εἰπόντων δὲ λόγους ἐπιεικεῖσι καὶ φιλαν-
θρώπους ἔν ἥθει τῷ πρέποντι καὶ παυσαμένων,
ἀπεκρίνατο τὰ μὲν πικρῶς ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς
ὀργῆν ἄν ἐπάθε, τὰ δ’ ύπὲρ τῶν Ὄυολούσκων ὡς
στρατηγός, ἀποδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν,
ὅσην ἀπετέμοντο πολέμῳ, κελεύον, καὶ ἄρρη-
σασθαι Ὅυολούσκωι ἰσοπολιτείαν ἦντερ Δατί-
νους. ἀλλὰν γὰρ οὖκ εἰναι βέβαιον ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἰσοῖς καὶ δικαίως ἀπαλλαγῆν τοῦ πολέμου.
χρόνον δὲ βουλῆς ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας τριά-
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city, and the aged men resorting to the sacred shrines with suppliant tears and prayers, and everywhere an utter lack of courage and saving counsels, then all agreed that the people had done well to seek a reconciliation with Marcius, but that the senate had made a total mistake in beginning then to indulge its wrath and revengeful spirit, when it had been well to lay such feelings aside. It was, therefore, unanimously decided to send ambassadors to Marcius, offering him the privilege of returning to his country, and begging him to stop his war upon them. Moreover, the messengers from the senate were kinsmen and friends of Marcius, and expected to be treated with great friendliness in their first interview with a man who was a relative and associate of theirs. But matters turned out quite otherwise; for after being led through the camp of the enemy, they found him seated in great state, and looking insufferably stern. Surrounded by the chief men of the Volscians, he bade the Romans declare their wishes. They did so, in reasonable and considerate language, and with a manner suitable to their position, and when they had ceased, he made an answer which, so far as it concerned himself, was full of bitterness and anger at their treatment of him, and in behalf of the Volscians, as their general, he ordered the restitution of the cities and territory which had been torn from them in war, and the passage of a decree granting the Volscians, as allies, equal civic rights, as had been done for the Latins. For no respite from the war would be secure and lasting, he said, except it be based on just and equal rights. Moreover, he gave them thirty days for deliberation, and when the ambassadors were
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κοντα: καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπελθόντων εὐθὺς ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

XXXI. Τότε δὴ πρῶτον αἰτίαμα τῶν Οὐολούσκων οἱ πάλαι βαρυνόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ φθονούντες ἐλάμβανον ὃν ἦν καὶ ὁ Τύλλος, ἰδία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκιου μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνῳ πάθει γεγονὼς. ἤχθετο γὰρ ἡμαυρωμένος παντάπασι τῇ δόξῃ καὶ παρορμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐολούσκων, πάντα μόνον ἡγομένων αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν Μάρκιον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἁξιούντων, ὅσον ἔκεινος αὐτοῖς μεταδόσει δυνάμεως καὶ 2 ἀρχῆς, ἀγαπᾶν ἔχοντας. ὅθεν αἱ πρώται κατηγορίαι κρύφα διεσπείροντο, καὶ συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡγανάκτουν, καὶ προδοσίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν ἀνάξευσιν, οὐ τειχῶν οὐδ' ὀπλῶν, ἀλλὰ καίρῶν, οἷς καὶ τὰλλα πάντα σώζεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἀπόλυσθαι πέφυκεν, ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τῷ πολέμῳ δεδομένων, οὗ μείζωνας οὐδὲν ἐν ἐλάττων χρόνῳ λαμβάνεις μεταβολάς.

3 Καὶ τοῖς τῶν κρόνων τούτων ὁ Μάρκιος οὐκ ἄρχων διήγεται, ἀλλὰ τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν πολεμίων ἐφθείρεν ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ περιέκοπτε καὶ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ μεγάλα καὶ πολυανθρώπους ἐλάβεν, οἱ δὲ ὅμοιοι βοηθεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμον, ἀλλ' ὅκινον πλήρεις ἦσαν αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ τοῖς ἑκνεναικόσι κομιδῇ καὶ παραλευμένοις σώμασιν 4 ὤμοιος διέκειντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ

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1 There is nothing of this withdrawal of forces in Livy (ii. 39).

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gone, he immediately withdrew his forces from the country.¹

XXXI. This was the first ground of complaint against him which was laid hold of by those of the Volscians who had long been jealous of him, and uneasy at the influence which he had acquired. Among these was Tullus also, not because he had been personally wronged at all by Marcius, but because he was only too human. For he was vexed to find his reputation wholly obscured and himself neglected by the Volscians, who thought that Marcius alone was everything to them, and that their other leaders should be content with whatever share of influence and authority he might bestow upon them. This was the reason why the first seeds of denunciation were sown in secret, and now, banding together, the malcontents shared their resentment with one another, and called the withdrawal of Marcius a betrayal, not so much of cities and armies, as of golden opportunities, which prove the salvation or the loss of these as well as of everything else; for he had granted a respite of thirty days from war, although in war the greatest changes might occur in much less time than this.

And yet Marcius did not spend this time in idleness, but fell upon the enemy’s allies, harassed and ravaged their territories, and captured seven of their large and populous cities.² And the Romans did not venture to come to their aid, but their spirits were full of hesitation, and their attitude toward the war was that of men who are completely benumbed and paralyzed. And when the time had passed, and

² Cf. Dionysius, viii. 36. Chapters xxviii.--xxx. in Plutarch agree closely with Dionysius viii. 14–35.
χρόνος διήλθε καὶ παρὴν αὖθις ὁ Μάρκιος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπάσης, ἐκπέμπτουσι πρεσβείαν πάλιν τοῦ Μαρκίου δεσπομένην ύφέσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τοὺς Ὀυολούσκους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαγαγόντα πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ὁ τι ἄν ἀμφοτέροις οἴηται βέλτιον εἶναι· φόβῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνδώσειν Ἰωμαῖοι, ἐὰν δὲ τινὸς τῶν φιλανθρώπων οἴηται δεῖν τυχεῖν τοὺς Ὀυολούσκους, ἄπαν αὐτοῖς 5 γενήσεσθαι τὰ ὀπλα καταθεμένους. πρὸς ταῦθ' ὁ Μάρκιος ἔφη μηδὲν ὡς Ὀυολούσκων ἀποκρίνεσθαι στρατηγός, ὡς δ' Ἰωμαῖοι ἐτὶ πολιτής παραπεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν μετριώτερα φρονήσαντας ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις ἢκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ἡμέραις τρισίν, ἀ προκαλεῖται ψηφισμένους· εἰ δ' ἐτερα δόξει, γιγνώσκειν οὐκ οὗτοι οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀδειαι αὖθις μετὰ λόγων κενῶν βαδίζουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XXXII. Ἐπανελθόντων δὲ τῶν πρεσβεων ἄκούσασα ἡ βουλή, καθάπερ ἐν χειμῶνι πολλῷ καὶ κλύδων τῆς πόλεως, ἀρασα τὴν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς ἀφῆκεν. ὡσοι γὰρ ἤσαν ἱερεὶς θεῶν ἢ μυστηρίων ὄργανοι ἢ φύλακες ἢ τὴν ἀπ' οίνων πάτριον οὕτων ἴκει 229 παλαιῶν μαντικῆς ἔχοντες, τούτους πάντας ἀπιέναι πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον ἐγιοφισάντου, κεκοσμημένους ὡς ἦν ἐκάστῳ νόμος ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις· λέγειν δὲ ταύτα, καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλάξας τὸν πόλεμον οὕτω διαλέγηται περὶ τῶν Ὀυολούσκων 2 τοῖς πολιτῶσι. ἐδέξατο μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐδὲν ἐδωκεν οὔδ' ἐπτραξεν οὔδ' εἰπε μαλακώτερον, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον 194
Marcius was at hand again with his entire force, they sent out another embassy to entreat him to moderate his wrath, withdraw the Volscian army from the country, and then make such proposals and settlements as he thought best for both nations; for the Romans would make no concessions through fear, but if he thought that the Volscians ought to obtain certain favours, all such would be granted them if they laid down their arms. Marcius replied that, as general of the Volscians, he would make no answer to this, but as one who was still a citizen of Rome, he advised and exhorted them to adopt more moderate views of what justice required, and come to him in three days with a ratification of his previous demands; but if they should decide otherwise, they must know well that it was not safe for them to come walking into his camp again with empty phrases.

XXXII. When the embassy had returned and the senate had heard its report, it was felt that the city was tossing on the billows of a great tempest, and therefore the last and sacred anchor was let down. A decree was passed that all the priests of the gods, and the celebrants or custodians of the mysteries, and those who practised the ancient and ancestral art of divination from the flight of birds,—that all these should go to Marcius, arrayed as was the custom of each in the performance of their sacred rites, and should urge him in the same manner as before to put a stop to the war, and then to confer with his fellow-citizens regarding the Volscians. He did, indeed, admit this embassy into his camp, but made no other concession, nor did he act or speak more mildly, but told them to make a settlement on his former
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ἐκέλευεν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις ἡ δέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπανελθόντων οὖν τῶν ἱερέων ἔδοξεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ τείχη φυλάττειν καὶ προσβάλλοντας ἀποκρούοντας τοὺς πολεμίους, 3 εν τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης παραλόγοις τιθεμένοις τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἐπεὶ δι' αὐτῶν γε σωτήριον οὐδὲν ἠπίσταντο πράττοντες, ἀλλὰ ταραχὴ καὶ πτοίᾳ καὶ φήμῃ πουρα τὴν πόλιν κατείχεν, ἀρχὶ οὖς συνέβη τι πράγμα τῷ πολλάκις υφ' Ὁμήρου λεγομένων, 1 μὴ πάνυ δὲ πείθοιτι 2 τοὺς πολλούς, ὅμουν. λέγοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναφωνοῦντος ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις πράξεσι καὶ παραλόγοις:

Τῷ δὲ ᾗρ’ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήκε ταῖ ν γλαυκώπις Ἀθήνη.

καὶ τὸ

'Αλλὰ τις ἀθανάτων τρέψει φρένας, ὡς γ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
ὀμοῦ θήκε φάτιν'

καὶ τὸ

’Ἡ τι οἰσσάμενος ἡ καὶ θεὸς ὡς ἐκέλευεν·

καταφρονοῦσιν ὡς ἄδυνάτων πράγμασι καὶ μυθευμασιν ἀπίστως τὸν ἐκάστου λογισμὸν τῆς προ- 5 αἱρέσεως ἀπίστοιο 3 καθιστάντος. οὐ ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο Ὁμήρος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν εἰκότα καὶ συνήθη

1 τῷ . . . λεγομένῳ Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske (Amyot): τῶν . . . λεγομένων.
2 πείθοιτι Bekker, after Reiske: πείθοιν.
3 ἀπίστον Bekker has ἀκρατῆ (powerless to determine).

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terms, or else accept the war. Accordingly, when the priests had returned, it was decided to remain quietly in the city, guarding its walls, and repulsing the enemy, should he make an attack. They put their hopes in time especially, and in the vicissitudes of fortune, since they knew not how to save themselves by their own efforts, but turmoil, terror, and rumours of evil possessed the city. At last something happened that was like what Homer often mentions, although people generally do not wholly believe it. For when some great and unusual deed is to be done, that poet declares in his stately manner:—

“He then was inspired by the goddess, flashing-eyed Athene”;  

and again:—

“But some immortal turned his mind by lodging in his heart  
A fear of what the folk would say”;  

and again:—

“Either through some suspicion, or else a god so bade him do”;  

but people despise Homer and say that with his impossible exploits and incredible tales he makes it impossible to believe in every man’s power to determine his own choice of action. This, however, is not what Homer does, but those acts which are natural, customary, and the result of reasoning, he

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1 Cf. Livy, ii. 39, 12; Dionysius, viii. 38.  
2 Odyssey, xviii. 158 = xxii. i. (τὴν δ' ἐκαρν).  
3 Not to be found now in Homer.  
4 Odyssey, ix. 339.
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καὶ κατὰ λόγου περαινόμενα τῷ ἐφ’ ἦμῖν ἀποδίδωσι, καὶ λέγει δήπον πολλάκις:

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ βούλευσα κατὰ μεγαλήτορα θυμόν καὶ,

‘Ὡς φάτο, Πηλείων δ’ ἄχος γένετ’, ἐν δὲ οἱ ἦτορ στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμηρίζειν· καὶ πάλιν,

ἀλλὰ τὸν οὗ τι πειθ’ ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα, δαίφρονα Βελλεροφόντην.

6 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀτόποις καὶ παραβόλοις πράξεσι καὶ φορᾶς τινὸς ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ παραστάσεως δεσμέναις οὐκ ἀναιροῦντα ποιεῖ τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ κινοῦντα τὴν προαίρεσιν, οὐδ’ ὀρμᾶς ἐνεργαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ φαντασίας ὀρμῶν ἄγωγούς, αὐς οὐδὲ ποιεῖ τὴν πράξεων ἀκούσιον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐκουσίῳ δίδωσιν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐλπίζειν προστίθησιν.

7 ἡ γὰρ ἀπαλλακτέον ὅλως τὰ θεία πάσης αἰτίας καὶ ἀρχῆς τῶν καθ’ ἦμᾶς, ἡ τίς ἄν ἄλλος εἰτ ἀριστος ὁ βοηθοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ συνεργοῦσιν; οὐ τὸ σώμα δήπον πλάττοντες ἦμῶν, οὐδὲ τὰς χεῖρας, ως δεῖ, μετατιθέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ πρακτικὸν καὶ προαιρετικὸν ἀρχαῖς τις καὶ φαντασίας καὶ ἐπιστοίας ἐγείροντες ἡ τούναντίον ἀποστρέφοντες καὶ ἰστάντες.
attributes to our own volition, and he certainly says frequently:—

"But I formed a plan within my lordly heart";¹

and also:—

"So he spake, and Peleus' son was sore distressed, and his heart
Within his shaggy breast between two courses was divided";²

and again:—

"But him no whit
Could she persuade from his integrity, the fiery-hearted Bellerophon";³

while in exploits of a strange and extraordinary nature, requiring some rush of inspiration, and desperate courage, he does not represent the god as taking away, but as prompting, a man's choice of action; nor yet as creating impulses in a man, but rather conceptions which lead to impulses, and by these his action is not made involuntary, but his will is set in motion, while courage and hope are added to sustain him. For either the influence of the gods must be wholly excluded from all initiating power over our actions, or in what other way can they assist and co-operate with men? They certainly do not mould our bodies by their direct agency, nor give the requisite change to the action of our hands and feet, but rather, by certain motives, conceptions, and purposes, they rouse the active and elective powers of our spirits, or, on the other hand, divert and check them.

¹ Odyssey, ix. 299. ² Iliad, i. 188 f. ³ Iliad, vi. 161 f.
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XXXIII. 'Εν δὲ τῇ Ρώμῃ τότε τῶν γυναικῶν ἄλλα μὲν πρὸς ἄλλους ἴεροῖς, αἱ δὲ πλείσται καὶ δοκιμώταται περὶ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Δίως βωμῶν ἱκέτευον. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἦν ἡ Ποπλικόλα τοῦ μεγάλα καὶ πολλὰ Ρωμαῖοι ἐν τε πολέμοις καὶ πολιτείαις ὁφελήσαντος ἀδελφῆ Οὐαλερία. Ποπ- λικόλας μὲν οὖν ἔτεθνήκει πρότερον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνον γεγραμμένοις ἱστορίαξε, ἢ δὲ Οὐαλερία δόξαν εἰχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τιμήν,

2 δοκούσα τῷ βίῳ μὴ κατασχύνειν τὸ γένος. ὅπερ οὖν λέγω πάθος ἐξαπίνης παθοῦσα, καὶ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἀδείαστον ἀγαμέμνον τοῦ συμφέροντος, αὐτὴ τε ἀνέστη καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀναστήσασα πάσας ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς τοῦ Μαρκίου μητρὸς Ὀὐρολυμνίας. ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθε καὶ κατέλαβε μετὰ τῆς νυνὶ καθεξομένην καὶ τὰ παιδία τοῦ Μαρκίου πρὸς τοὺς κόλπους ἐχοῦσαν, ἐν κύκλῳ περιστήσασα

3 τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῆς: "Αὐταὶ γε ἡμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὁ Οὐρολυμνίας, καὶ σὺ, Οὐεργιλία, γυναῖκες ἦκομεν πρὸς γυναῖκας, οὗτε βουλὴς ῥημασμένης οὐτ' ἄρχοντος κελεύσαντος, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἰκτείρας τὴν ἱκετείαν, ὅρμην παρέστησε δευρὶ τραπέζαι πρὸς ῥμᾶς καὶ δεσθῆναι σω- τηρίαν μὲν αὐταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις, ὡμοί δὲ πεισθείσαις ἐπιφανεστέραν φέροντα δόξαν ἢς αἱ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες ἔσχουν, εἰς φιλίαι καὶ εἰρήνην ἐκ πολέμων συναγαγοῦσαι πατέρας καὶ

1 Chapter xxiii.
2 "Then the matrons came in a body to Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia, his wife. Whether this was the result of public counsel, or of the women's fear,
XXXIII. Now in Rome, at the time of which I speak, various groups of women visited the various temples, but the greater part of them, and those of highest station, carried their supplications to the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among these was Valeria, a sister of that Publicola who had done the Romans so many eminent services both as warrior and statesman. Publicola, indeed, had died some time before, as I have related in his Life; but Valeria was still enjoying her repute and honour in the city, where her life was thought to adorn her lineage. This woman, then, suddenly seized with one of those feelings which I have been describing, and laying hold of the right expedient with a purpose not uninspired of heaven, rose up herself, bade the other women all rise, and came with them to the house of Volumnia, the mother of Marcius. After entering and finding her seated with her daughter-in-law, and holding the children of Marcius on her lap, Valeria called about her the women who had followed, and said: "We whom thou seest here, Volumnia, and thou, Vergilia, are come as women to women, obeying neither senatorial edict nor consular command; but our god, as it would seem, taking pity on our supplication, put into our hearts an impulse to come hither to you and beseech you to do that which will not only be the salvation of us ourselves and of the citizens besides, but also lift you who consent to do it to a more conspicuous fame than that which the daughters of the Sabines won, when they brought their fathers and husbands out

I cannot ascertain."—Livy, ii. 40, 1. In Dionysius also (viii. 39, 40), whom Plutarch seems otherwise to be following, Veturia is the mother, and Volumnia the wife, of Marcius.
4 ἀνδρας. δεῦτε πρὸς Μάρκιον ἵον ιόνιμεθ᾽ ἡμῶν συνάψασθε τῆς ἱκετηρίας, καὶ μαρτυρήσατε τῇ πατρίδι μαρτυρίαν ἄληθῆ καὶ δικαίαν, ὅτι πολλὰ πάσχονσα κακῶς οὔδὲν οὔτ᾽ ἔπραξε δεινὸν οὔτ᾽ ἐβουλευσε περὶ ὕμων δι’ ὄργην, ἀλλ’ ἀποδίδωσιν ὕμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ μηδενὸς τυγχάνειν μέλλῃ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν.

5 Ταῦτα τῆς Οὐαλερίας εἰποῦσις ἄνεβόησαν αἱ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες, ἦμείψατο δὲ ἡ Οὐολούμνια. "Καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἡμῖν συμφορῶν, οὐ γυναῖκες, ἵσον μέτεστι, καὶ ἱδία πράττομεν κακῶς ἀπολέσασαι τὴν Μαρκίου δόξαν καὶ ἀρετήν, τὸ σῶμα δ’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῶν πολεμιῶν ὀπλαῖς φρουροῦμενον μᾶλλον ἡ σωζόμενον ἐφορῶσαι. μέγιστον δ’ ἡμῖν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων ἔστω, εἰ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος οὕτως ἔχωμεν ὅστ’ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. οὐκ οίδα γὰρ εἰ τίνα ποιήσεται λόγον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος, εἰ γε μηδένα ποιεῖται τῆς πατρίδος, ἢν καὶ μητρὸς καὶ γυναῖκος καὶ τέκνων προετίμησεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ χρήσθη ἡμῖν λαβοῦσαι καὶ κομίζετε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἱκεσίαις ἐναποτεύνεσαι δυναμένας."

XXXIV. Ἐκ τούτου τά τε παιδία καὶ τὴν Ὀυεργυλίαν ἀναστήσασα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἔβαδίζειν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ὀυολούσκων. ὡς δ’ ὅψις αὐτῶν τὸ τ’ οίκτρων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνεποίησεν αἰών καὶ σωπήν. ἔτυχε δ’ ὁ Μάρκιος ἐπὶ βήματος καθεξόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. ὡς οὖν εἴδε προσιόυσας τὰς γυναικας, ἐθαύμασεν· ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τὴν μητέρα πρώτην βαδίζουσαν ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐμμένειν τοῖς ἀπείπτοις.
of war into friendship and peace. Arise, come with us to Marcius, and join with us in supplicating him, bearing this just and true testimony in behalf of your country, that, although she has suffered much wrong at his hands, she has neither done nor thought of doing harm to you, in her anger, but restores you to him, even though she is destined to obtain no equitable treatment at his hands."

These words of Valeria were seconded by the cries of the other women with her, and Volumnia gave them this answer:—"O women, not only have we an equal share with you in the common calamities, but we have an additional misery of our own, in that we have lost the fame and virtue of Marcius, and see his person protected in command, rather than preserved from death, by the arms of our enemies. And yet it is the greatest of our misfortunes that our native city is become so utterly weak as to place her hopes in us. For I know not whether the man will have any regard for us, since he has none for his country, which he once set before mother and wife and children. However, take us and use us and bring us to him; if we can do nothing else, we can at least breathe out our lives in supplications for our country."

XXXIV. After this, she took the children and Vergilia and went with the other women to the camp of the Volscians. The sight of them, and the piti-fulness of it, produced even in their enemies reverence and silence. Now it chanced that Marcius was seated on a tribunal with his chief officers. When, accordingly, he saw the women approaching, he was amazed; and when he recognized his mother, who walked at their head, he would fain have persisted
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ἐκείνοις καὶ ἀπαραιτήτοις λογισμοῖς, γενόμενος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἐλάττων καὶ συνταραχθεῖς πρὸς τὴν ὁμοῦν ὅτι ἐτήλι καθεξομένῳ προσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καταβᾶς θαττὸν ἡ βάδην καὶ ἀπαντήσας πρὸς τὴν μὴ τέρα καὶ πλεῖστον χρόνου, εἶτα δὲ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα, μήτε δακρύων ἔτι μήτε τοῦ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι φειδόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀστερὶ ὑπὸ ῥεύματος φέρεσθαι τοῦ πάθους ἐαυτὸν ἐνδεδωκός.

XXXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων ἄδην εἶχε καὶ τὴν μητέρα βουλομένην ἢδη λόγων ἀρχεὶν ἰσθετο, τοὺς τῶν Ὀὐκολούσκων προβούλους παραστησάμενος ἠκούσε τῆς Ὀὐκολομνιᾶς τοιαύτα λεγούσης: "Ὅρας μὲν, ὃ παῖ, κἂν αὐταὶ μὴ λέγομεν, ἔσθητι καὶ μορφῆ τῶν ἄθλων σωμάτων τεκμαιρόμενος, οἱ πολυκούνται ἢμῖν ἢ σῇ φυγῇ περιεποιήσατο. λόγισαι δὲ νῦν ός ἀτυχέσταται πασῶν ἀφύγμεθα γυναικῶν, αἰς τὸ ἔδωσον θέαμα φοβερῶτατον ἢ τύχη πεποίηκεν, ἔμοι μὲν υἱὸν, ταύτη δ' ἄνδρα τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος τείχεσιν ἰδεῖν ἀντικαθήμενον. δ' δ' ἔστι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀτυχίας πάσης καὶ κακοπραγίας παραμύθιον, εὐχεσθαι θεοῖς, ἢμῖν ἀπορώτατον γέγονεν. οὐ γὰρ οἶδον τε καὶ τῇ πατρίδι νῖκην ἃμα καὶ σοὶ σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ' ἂ τις ἂν ἢμῖν καταράσατο τῶν ἔχθρων, ταῦτα ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἔνεστιν εὐχαίρις. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ σοῦ στέρεσθαι γυναικὶ σῇ καὶ τέκνοις. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν περιμένω ταύτην μοι διαιτῆσαι τὴν τύχην ξώσῃ τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' εἰ μή σε πείσαιμι φίλαι καὶ ὀμόνοιαν ἀντὶ διαφορᾶς καὶ κακῶν θέμενον ἀμφο-
in his previous inflexible and implacable course, but, mastered by his feelings, and confounded at what he saw, he could not endure to remain seated while they approached him, but descended quickly from the tribunal and ran to meet them. He saluted his mother first, and held her a long time in his embrace, and then his wife and children, sparing now neither tears nor caresses, but suffering himself as it were to be borne away by a torrent of emotion.

XXXV. But when he was sated with this, and perceived that his mother now wished to say something, he brought to his side the councillors of the Volscians, and heard Volumnia speak as follows: "Thou seest, my son, even if we do not speak ourselves, and canst judge from the wretchedness of our garb and aspect, to what a pitiful state thy banishment has reduced us. And now be sure that we who come to thee are of all women most unhappy, since fortune has made the sight which should have been most sweet, most dreadful for us, as I behold my son, and this wife of thine her husband, encamped against the walls of our native city. And that which for the rest is an assuagement of all misfortune and misery, namely prayer to the gods, has become for us most impracticable; for we cannot ask from the gods both victory for our country and at the same time safety for thee, but that which any one of our foes might imprecat upon us as a curse, this must be the burden of our prayers. For thy wife and children must needs be deprived either of their country or of thee. As for me, I will not wait to have the war decide this issue for me while I live, but unless I can persuade thee to substitute friendship and concord for dissension and hostility, and so
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terwv évergéttov genésethai mállon h lymēōna twv étérwv, òtwv diavōv kai paraskêuazē seautov óws tw patrifé mi prosmézai dynάmenos prín h nekran uperbēnai tìn tekousoan. ou gar ékeinvn me dei tìn ἴmerean anamevein en h tôn uivn ép-
ózmwai thriambeunómenon upo tōn politōn h thriam-
bvouna kata tís patrídos. ei mév ouv áziw se tìn patrída sówai Oúolouócous apóleasanta, 
χαλεπῇ sou kai dυsdiáititou, o pái, prókeitai 
skeψis: outhe gar diaftheírai touz politaz kalón, 
outhe touz pepisteuokótas protoun díkaioun νwv 
δ’ apallagάn kākōn aítouμetha, sωtήriou mév 
áμφotérous ómōlou, ēndoxou de kai kalhν mállon 
Oúolouócoun, óti tō krateîn dōzousi didónai tā 
megistata tōn āgathōn, oux ētton lamβanontes, 
eirēnēn kai filiâ, dvn máliesta mév aítios ἐση 
γινομένων, mh γινομένων dē mōnous aítian ἔξεις 
par’ áμφotérous. ἀδηλος δ’ ouv o pôlemos tou’t 
ēchei prōdηlou, òti sou wvκώnti mév álæstori tís 
patridos éinai perísthn, ἴttwmenos dē dózexis ὑπ’ 
órghēs évergētazs anðraþa kai phlous tōn megístwv 
synphorōn aítios ēgonoívai.”

XXXVI. Tauta tís Oúoloumcías leγou̱scs ὁ 
Márkios ἕκροατο μηδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος. ἐπεὶ dē 
kai pausaménhs ei̊stήkei swpòwv polôn χρόνων, 
aðis h Oúoloumcía: “Tì sýgaś,” eipen, “d’ pái; 
ptéron ὀργῆ kai μνημικάκια πάντα συγχωρεῖν 
kalón, ou kalón dē mētrí χαρίσασθαι deuméνh 
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to become a benefactor of both parties rather than a destroyer of one of them, then consider and be well assured that thou canst not assail thy country without first treading underfoot the corpse of her who bore thee. For it does not behoove me to await that day on which I shall behold my son either led in triumph by his fellow-citizens or triumphing over his country. If, then, I asked you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, the question before thee would be a grievous one, my son, and hard to decide, since it is neither honourable for a man to destroy his fellow-citizens, nor just for him to betray those who have put their trust in him; but as it is, we ask only a relief from evils, something which would be salutary for both parties alike, but more conducive to fame and honour for the Volscians, because their superiority in arms will give them the appearance of bestowing the greatest of blessings, namely peace and friendship, although they get these no less themselves. If these blessings are realized, it will be chiefly due to thee; if they are not, then thou alone wilt bear the blame from both nations. And though the issues of war are obscure, this is manifest, that if victorious, thou wilt only be thy country’s destroying demon, and if defeated, the world will think that, to satisfy thy wrath, thou didst bring down the greatest calamities upon men who were thy benefactors and friends.”

XXXVI. While Volumnia was saying this, Marcius listened without making any answer, and after she had ceased also, he stood a long time in silence. Volumnia therefore began once more: “Why art thou silent, my son? Is it right to yield everything to wrath and resentment, but wrong to gratify a
2 περὶ τηλικούτων; ἢ τὸ μεμνησθαί πεπονθότα κακῶς ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ προσήκει. τὸ δὲ εὐεργεσίας, αἱς εὐεργετοῦνται παῖδες ὑπὸ τῶν τεκόντων, σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἔργων ἐστὶ μεγάλου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ; καὶ μὴν οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον ἔπρεπε τηρεῖν χάριν ώς σοί, πυκνῶς οὕτως ἀχαριστίαν ἐπεξιόντω. καίτοι παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἦδη μεγάλας δίκας ἀπείληφας, τῇ μητρὶ δ’ οὐδεμιᾶν χάριν ἀποδέδωκας. ἦν μὲν οὖν ὁσιώτατον ἁνεχθῆναι ἀνάγκης τυχεῖν με παρὰ σοῦ δεομένην οὕτω καλῶν καὶ δικαίων, μὴ πείθουσα δὲ τὰ φείδομαι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐπιόδου;” καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰποῦσα προσπίπτει τοῖς ποσίν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς


5 μένουσα ἀπαντᾷς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐμέμφοντο καὶ τῶν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, οἱ δὲ οὐδέτερα, πρὸς διάλυσιν καὶ εἰρήνην οἰκείως ἔχουσες, ἐνοικὶ δὲ δυσχεραίνοντες τὰ πραττόμενα τῶν Μάρκιον ὁμοὶς οὐ ποιηρὸν ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ συγγνωστὸν ἐπικλασθέντα τηλικαύτας ἀνάγκαις. ἀντεἶπε

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mother in such a prayer as this? Or is the remembrance of his wrongs becoming to a great man, while the remembrance, with reverence and honour, of the benefits which children have received from their parents is not the duty of a great and good man? Surely for no man were it more seemly to cherish gratitude than for thee, who dost so bitterly proceed against ingratitude. And yet, although thou hast already punished thy country severely, thou hast not shown thy mother any gratitude. It were, therefore, a most pious thing in thee to grant me, without any compulsion, so worthy and just a request as mine; but since I cannot persuade thee, why should I spare my last resource?" And with these words she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children. Then Marcius, crying out "What hast thou done to me, my mother!" lifted her up, and pressing her right hand warmly, said: "Thou art victorious, and thy victory means good fortune to my country, but death to me; for I shall withdraw vanquished, though by thee alone." When he had said this, and had held a little private conference with his mother and his wife, he sent them back again to Rome, as they desired, and on the next morning led away his Volscians, who were not all affected in the same way nor equally pleased by what had happened. For some found fault both with him and with what he had done; but others, who were favourably disposed towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute, with neither; while some, though displeased with his proceedings, nevertheless could not look upon Marcius as a bad man, but thought it pardonable in him to be broken down by such strong compulsions. No one, however, opposed him, but all followed
δ' οὖνείς, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἴποντο, τὴν ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἀυτοῦ θαυμάζοντες ἢ τὴν ἔξονσιαν.

XXXVII. Ὅ δὲ Ρωμαίων δήμος ἐν ὅσῳ φόβῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ καθειστήκει τοῦ πολέμου παρόντος, αἰσθησιν παρέσχε μᾶλλον λυθέντος. ἀμα γὰρ ἀφεώρων τοὺς Ὀὐολούσκους ἀναξιευγυνόντας οἱ περὶ τὰ τείχη, καὶ πάν εὐθὺς ἵερον ἀνεφέγει στεφανηφορούντων ὡσπερ ἐπὶ νίκη καὶ θυόντων. μάλιστα δὲ τῇ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγαπήσει καὶ τιμῇ τῆς τε Βουλῆς τοῦ τε πλήθους ἀπαντος ἐνδήλος ἢν ἡ χαρὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ λεγόντων καὶ νομιζόντων γεγονόναι τῆς σωτηρίας περι-2 φανῶς ἐκείνας αἰτίας. ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς Βουλῆς, ὅ τι ἀν αὐταίς ἀξιόσωσε γενέσθαι πρὸς δόξαν ἢ χάριν, τούτο ποιήσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν τοὺς ἀρχούντας, οὐδὲν ἥξιωσαν ἄλλο ἢ Τύχης γυναικείας ἵερον ἱδρύσασθαι, τὸ μὲν ἀνάλωμα συμβαλόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἱερουργίας δὲ καὶ τιμᾶς, ὅσα θεοὶ πρέπουσι, δημοσία τῆς πόλεως 3 ἀναλαβοῦσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Βουλὴ τὴν μὲν φιλοτι-μίαν ἐπῆνεσε, δημοσίας δὲ δαπάναις ἐποίησατο τὸν νεών καὶ τὸ ἔδος, οὐδὲν ὦττον αὐταὶ χρήματα συνεισενεγκοῦσα δεύτερον ἁγαλμα κατεσκεύασαν, ὅ δὲ καὶ φασὶ Ρωμαίοι καθιστάμενον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φθέγξασθαι τι τοιοῦτον "Θεοφιλεῖ μὲ θεσμῷ γυναῖκες δεδώκατε."

XXXVIII. Ταύτην καὶ διὰ γενέσθαι τὴν φωνὴν μυθολογοῦσιν, ἀγενήτοις ὠμοια καὶ χαλεπὰ πει-210
him obediently, though rather out of admiration for his virtue than regard for his authority.¹

XXXVII. But the Roman people showed more plainly, when they were set free from the war, the greatness of their fear and peril while it lasted. For as soon as those who manned the walls descried the Volscians drawing their forces off, every temple was thrown open, and the people crowned themselves with garlands and offered sacrifices as if for victory. But the joy of the city was most apparent in the honour and loving favour which both the senate and the whole people bestowed upon the women, declaring their belief that the city's salvation was manifestly due to them. When, however, the senate passed a decree that whatsoever they asked for themselves in the way of honour or favour, should be furnished and done for them by the magistrates, they asked for nothing else besides the erection of a temple of Women's Fortune, the expense of which they offered to contribute of themselves, if the city would undertake to perform, at the public charge, all the sacrifices and honours, such as are due to the gods. The senate commended their public spirit, and erected the temple and its image at the public charge,² but they none the less contributed money themselves and set up a second image of the goddess, and this, the Romans say, as it was placed in the temple, uttered some such words as these: "Dear to the gods, O women, is your pious gift of me."³

XXXVIII. These words were actually uttered twice, as the story runs, which would have us be-

² Cf. Livy, ii. 40, 11. ³ Cf. Dionysius, viii. 56.
σθήναι πείθοντες ἡμᾶς. Ἰδίοντα μὲν γὰρ ἀγάλματα φανήναι καὶ δακρυρροοῦντα καὶ τινὰς μεθιέντα νοτίδας αἰματόδεις οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἔστι, καὶ γὰρ ξύλα καὶ λίθοι πολλάκις μὲν εὐρώτα συνάγουσι γόνυμον ὑγρότητος, πολλάς δὲ χροιάς ἀνιᾶσιν ἕξ ἔαντὼν, καὶ δέχονται βαφᾶς ἐκ τοῦ περίχοντος, οἷς ἕνα σημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον οὕδεν
2 ἄν δόξειε κοιλύειν. δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ μνημοφ καὶ στεναγμῷ ψόφον ὄμοιον ἐκβάλλειν ἀγάλματα κατὰ ῥήξιν ἡ διάστασιν μορίων βιαστέραν ἐν βάθει γενομένην ἐναρθρὸν δὲ φωνήν καὶ διάλεκτον οὕτω σαφῆ καὶ περιττὴν καὶ ἀρτίστερου ἐν ἀψύχῳ γενέσθαι παντάπασιν ἀμήχανον, εἰ μηδὲ τὴν ψυχῆν καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνεύ σώματος ἀργακοῦ καὶ διηρμοσμένου μέρεσι λογικοὺς
3 γέγονεν ἥχειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι. ὅπου δ’ ἡμᾶς ἡ ἱστορία πολλοῖς ἀποβιάζεται καὶ πιθανοῖς μάρτυσιν, ἀνόμοιον αἰσθήσει πάθος ἐγγενόμενον τῷ φανταστικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς συναναπείθει τὸ δόξαν, ὅσπερ ἐν ὑπνοῖς ἀκούειν οὐκ ἀκούόντες καὶ βλέπειν οὐ βλέποντες δοκοῦμεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπ’ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίαις πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἄγαν ἐμπαθῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄθετεῖν μηδ’ ἀναίνεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων δυναμένους, μέγα πρὸς πίστην ἔστι τὸ θαυμάσιον καὶ μὴ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τῆς τοῦ
4 θεοῦ δυνάμεως. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὖδαμῶς ἀνθρωπίνῳ προσέοικεν οὕτε φύσιν οὕτε κίνησιν οὕτε τέχνην οὕτ’ ἱσχύν, οὐδ’ εἰ τι ποιεῖ τῶν ἡμῖν ἀποιήτων καὶ μηχανάται τῶν ἀμηχάνων, παράλογον ἐστιν,
lieve what is difficult of belief and probably never happened. For that statues have appeared to sweat, and shed tears, and exude something like drops of blood, is not impossible; since wood and stone often contract a mould which is productive of moisture, and cover themselves with many colours, and receive tints from the atmosphere; and there is nothing in the way of believing that the Deity uses these phenomena sometimes as signs and portents. It is possible also that statues may emit a noise like a moan or a groan, by reason of a fracture or a rupture, which is more violent if it takes place in the interior. But that articulate speech, and language so clear and abundant and precise, should proceed from a lifeless thing, is altogether impossible; since not even the soul of man, or the Deity, without a body duly organized and fitted with vocal parts, has ever spoken and conversed. But where history forces our assent with numerous and credible witnesses, we must conclude that an experience different from that of sensation arises in the imaginative part of the soul, and persuades men to think it sensation; as, for instance, in sleep, when we think we see and hear, although we neither see nor hear. However, those who cherish strong feelings of good-will and affection for the Deity, and are therefore unable to reject or deny anything of this kind, have a strong argument for their faith in the wonderful and transcendent character of the divine power. For the Deity has no resemblance whatever to man, either in nature, activity, skill, or strength; nor, if He does something that we cannot do, or contrives something that we cannot contrive, is this contrary to reason; but rather, since He differs from us in all
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άλλα μᾶλλον ἐν πᾶσι διαφέρον πολὺ μάλιστα
tois ἔργοις ἀνόμοιος ἐστὶ καὶ παρηλλαγμένος.
άλλα τῶν μὲν θείων τὰ πολλά, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον,
ἀπιστὴ διαφυγγάνει μὴ γινώσκεσθαι.

XXXIX. Τὸν δὲ Μάρκιον, ὃς ἑπανῆλθεν εἰς
tὸ Ἀντιοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας, μισῶν πάλαι
καὶ βαρυνόμενος διὰ φθόνον ὁ Τύλλος ἐπεβουλ
λευν ἄνελείν εὐθὺς, ὥς εἰ νῦν διαφύγοι, λαβὴν
ἔτεραν οὐ παρέξοντα. πολλοὺς δὲ συστήσας καὶ
παρασκευάσας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθύνας ὑπο
σχεῖν τοῖς Οὐδολούσκοις, ἀποδόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν.

2 ο δὲ φοβοῦμενος ἱδιώτης γενέσθαι τοῦ Τύλλου
στρατηγοῦντος καὶ δυναμένου μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς
ἐαυτοῦ πολίταις, ἔλεγε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδώσειν
Οὐδολούσκοις, ἐὰν κελεύσωι, καὶ γὰρ λαβεῖν
πάντων κελευντῶν, εὐθύνας δὲ διδόναι καὶ λόγον
οὐδὲ νῦν παρατείσθαι τοῖς Βουλομένοις ᾽Ἀντια-
tῶν. γενομένης οὖν ἐκκλησίας, οἱ παρασκευασ-
μένοι τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀνιστάμενοι παρόξυνον τὸ

3 πλῆθος. ἔπει δ' ἀναστάντι τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὸ μὲν
ἀγαν θορυβοῦν ὑπ' αἴδοὺς ἐνεδίδου καὶ παρεῖχεν
ἀδεῶς λέγειν, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι καὶ μάλιστα
χαίροντες εἰρήνη τῶν ᾽Ἀντιατῶν ἐγένοντο φανεροὶ
μετ' εὐνοίας ἀκουσομένοι καὶ δικαίως κρίνοντες,
ἐξεισεν ὁ Τύλλος τὴν ἀπολογίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός.

ἡ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δεινὸς εἶπεν, καὶ τὰ

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points, in His works most of all is He unlike us and far removed from us. But most of the Deity’s powers, as Heracleitus says,\(^1\) “escape our knowledge through incredulity.”

XXXIX. But as for Marcius, when he came back to Antium from his expedition, Tullus, who had long hated him and been oppressed with jealousy of him, plotted to take him off at once, believing that if his enemy escaped him now, he would never give him another chance to seize him. Having, therefore, arrayed a large party against him, he bade him lay down his command and give the Volscians an account of his administration. But Marcius, afraid of being reduced to private station when Tullus was in command and exercising the greatest influence among his own countrymen, said he would resign his command to the Volscians, if they bade him do so, since it was at their general bidding that he had assumed it; and that he was ready, and would not refuse even before that, to give a full account of his administration to all the people of Antium who desired it. An assembly was therefore held, at which the popular leaders who had been set to the work rose and tried to embitter the multitude against him. But when Marcius rose to speak, the more disorderly part of his audience grew quiet, out of reverence for him, and gave him opportunity to speak fearlessly, while the best of the men of Antium, and those that were especially pleased with peace, made it clear that they would listen to him with favour and give a just decision. Tullus, therefore, began to fear the effect of the man’s plea in self-defence; for he was one of the most powerful speakers, and his earlier achievements

\(^1\) Fragment 116 (Bywater, p. 45).
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πρόσθεν ἔργα μείξονα τὴν χάριν εἶχε τῆς ὑστερον αἰτίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως τὸ ἐγκλημα τοῦ
4 μεγέθους τῆς χάριτος ἦν μαρτύριον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔδοξαν ἀδικεῖσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην ὑποχείριον μὴ
λαβόντες, εἰ μὴ τοῦ λαβεὶν ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο διὰ
Μάρκιον.

Ὅτι οὖν ἔδοξε διαμέλλειν οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐγκραγόντες οἱ θρασύτατοι
τῶν συνεστῶτων ὡς οὐκ ἔστων ἀκοντστέον οὐδὲ
περιστέτεον Ὀυολούσκοι τὸν προδότην τυραν-
νοῦντα καὶ μὴ κατατιθέμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, προσπε-
σόντες ἄθροοι διέφθειραν αὐτὸν, καὶ προσήμισσαν
5 οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων. ὅτι δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις οὐκ
ἐπράξη κατὰ γνώμην, ἐδήλωσαν αὐτίκα συνδρα-
μόντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ θάψαντες
ἐντίμωσαν καὶ τὸν τάφον ὅπλοι καὶ λαφύροις
κοσμήσαντες ὡς ἀριστέως καὶ στρατηγοῦ. Ῥω-
μαῖοι δὲ τὴν τελευτήν πυθόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἂν οὐδὲν
ἀπεδέξαντο σημείων οὔτε τιμῆς οὔτ' ὀργῆς πρὸς
αὐτὸν, αἰτησαμέναι δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ἐπέτρεψαν
ἀποπενθῆσαι δέκα μῆνας, ὡσπερ ἐθος ἴν ἐκάστη
πατέρα καὶ παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὸν. οὕτως γὰρ ἦν
ὅρος τοῦ μακροτάτου πένθους, διὸ ἤρισε Νομᾶς
Πομπίλιος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γεγραμμένοις
dedhλωται.

6 Τὸν δὲ Μάρκιον εὐθὺς ἐπόθει τὰ Ὀυολούσκων
πράγματα. πρώτον μὲν γὰρ στασιάσαντες πρὸς
Αἰκανοὺς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ὄντας ὑπὲρ

1 "Then, after he had withdrawn his troops from the
Roman territory, they say that he was overwhelmed with
hatred in consequence, and lost his life, different writers
giving different details of his death. In Fabius, who is by

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secured him a gratitude which outweighed his later fault; nay more, the very charge against him was but so much proof of the great gratitude which was his due. For they would not have thought themselves wronged in not getting Rome into their power, had not the efforts of Marcius brought them near to taking it.

Accordingly, the conspirators decided to make no more delay, and not to test the feelings of the multitude; but the boldest of them, crying out that the Volscians must not listen to the traitor, nor suffer him to retain his command and play the tyrant among them, fell upon him in a body and slew him, and no man present offered to defend him.\(^1\) However, that the deed was not wrought with the approval of the majority of the Volscians, was seen at once from their coming out of their cities in concourse to his body, to which they gave honourable burial, adorning his tomb with arms and spoils, as that of a chieftain and general. But when the Romans learned of his death, they paid him no other mark either of honour or resentment, but simply granted the request of the women that they might mourn for him ten months, as was customary when any one of them lost a father, or a son, or a brother. For this was the period fixed for the longest mourning, and it was fixed by Numa Pompilius, as is written in his Life.\(^2\)

The loss of Marcius was keenly felt at once by the Volscian state. For, in the first place, they quarrelled with the Aequians, who were their allies and friends, over the supreme command, and carried their quarrel

\(^1\) For the most ancient authority, I find that he lived even to old age” (Livy, ii. 40, 10). Chapter xxxix. in Plutarch agrees closely with Dionysius viii. 57–59, who says that Marcius was stoned to death.\(^2\) Chapter xii. 2.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ήγεμονίας, ἀχρί τραυμάτων καὶ φόνων προήλθον· ἐπειτα μάχη κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων, ἐν ἦ Τύλλος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ ἄνθον μάλιστα τῆς δυνάμεως διεφθάρη, διαλύσεις αἰσχύστας ἡγάπησαν ὑπῆκοοι γενόμενοι, καὶ τὸ προστατάνενον αὐτοῖς ποιήσειν ὀμολογήσαντες.

ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΙΟΛΑΝΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣΙΣ

1. Ἐκκειμένων δὲ τῶν πράξεων, ὡσας ἠγούμεθα λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιας εἶναι, τὰς μὲν πολεμικὰς ἐπὶ οὐδέτερον ποιούσας ῥοπὴν μεγάλην ὀρᾶν ἔστιν. ὀμαλῶς γὰρ ἀμφότεροι πολλὰ μὲν στρατιωτικῆς ἔργα τόλμης καὶ ἀνδρείας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τέχνης καὶ προνοίας στρατηγούντες ἐπεδείξαντο, 2 πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις θέλοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ὦτι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀγώσι νικῶν καὶ κατορθῶν διετέλεσεν, ἀποφαίνειν τελείωτερον στρατηγῶν ἐπεὶ τὸ γε παρόντας καὶ ἀρχοντας ὀρθῶν ἀεὶ προδῆλως τὰ οἰκεία καὶ προδηλότερον αὖ πάλιν βλάπτειν μεθισταμένους 3 ἀμφότεροις ύπηρξε. πολιτείαν δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου τὴν ἄγαν λαμβρὰν καὶ τὸ μὴ καθαρεύον ἀναγωγίας καὶ βωμολοχίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς χάριν ὀμίλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς οἱ σώφρονες ἐβδελύττωσαν, τῆν δὲ Μαρκίου πανταπασίων ἀχαριν καὶ ύπερη-

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to the length of bloodshed and slaughter; in the second place, they were defeated in battle by the Romans, wherein Tullus was slain and the very flower of their forces was cut to pieces, so that they were glad to accept most disgraceful terms, becoming subjects of Rome, and pledging themselves to obey her commands.¹

COMPARISON OF ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS

I. Now that all the deeds of these men are set forth, so far as we consider them worthy of recollection and record, it is plain that their military careers do not incline the balance either way very decidedly. For both alike gave many signal proofs of daring and valour as soldiers, as well as of skill and foresight as commanders; except that some may give the preference to Alcibiades, because he was continually successful and victorious in many struggles by sea, as well as by land, and declare him therefore the more consummate general. It is certainly true of each that, when he was at home and in command, he always conducted his country's cause with manifest success, and, contrariwise, inflicted even more manifest injury upon it when he went over to the enemy. As statesmen, if the exceeding wantonness of Alcibiades, and the stain of dissoluteness and vulgarity upon all his efforts to win the favour of the multitude, won the loathing of sober-minded citizens, it was equally true that the utter ungraciousness of

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 40, 12 f.
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φανον καὶ ὀλγαρχικὴν γενομένην ἐμίσησεν ὁ
Ῥωμαίων δήμος. ούδετέραν μὲν οὖν ἐπαινετέον.
ὁ δὲ δημαγωγὸν καὶ χαριζόμενος τῶν ὅτως οὐ
dοξούσι δημαγωγεῖν προπηλακιζόντων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀμεμπτότερος· οἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ κολακεύεσθαι, τὸ δ’ ἵσχυεν ἕκ τοῦ φοβερον εἶναι καὶ κακοῦν καὶ πιέζειν πρὸς τῷ
οἰσχρῷ καὶ ἄδικον ἔστιν.

Π. Ὁ τοῖνυν ἄπλος τις ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπείληπται τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονόν καὶ αὐθέκαστος, ὁ δὲ
Ἀλκιβιάδης πανούργος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἀναλήθης, οὐκ ἄδηλον ἔστι. μάλιστα δὲ κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ κακοθείαν καὶ ἀπάτην, ἣ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις παρακρουσάμενος, ὡς Θουκυ-2 δίδης ἰστόρηκε, τῇ εἰρήνην ἔλυσεν. ἀλλ’ αὐτή
μὲν ἡ πολιτείᾳ, καίτερ εἰς πόλεμον αὕτης ἐμ-βαλοῦσα τὴν πόλιν, ἵσχυρὰν ἐποίησε καὶ φο-βεράν, τῆς Μαντινείων καὶ Ἀργείων συμμαχίας δι’ Ἀλκιβιάδου προσγενομένης. Μάρκιος δ’ ὅτι μὲν ἀπάτη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεπολέμωσε Ῥωμαίους καὶ
Οὐολουσκοὺς διαβαλῶν ψευδῶς τοὺς ἦκοντας ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν, Δειονύσιος ἰστόρηκε· ἡ δ’ αἰτία φαῦλο-3 τερον ποιεῖ τὸ ἔργον. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ φιλονεικίας οὐδὲ
πολιτικῆς μάχης ἢ ἅμως, ὡς ἐκείνου, ἀλλ’ ὁργῆς χαριζόμενος, παρ’ ἦς οὐδὲνα φησιν ὁ Δίων 1 ἀπολαβεῖν χάριν, πολλὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας μέρη συνε-
tάραξε καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις οὐδὲν ἀδικούσας τῷ
πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα θύμῳ παρανάλωσε. καῖτοι

1 Δίων Bekker corrects to Ἰων, after Bryan. The verse . . . οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὄργῆς χάριν ἀπελήφθη, πάτερ . . . is attributed to Menander in Stobaeus, Floril. xx. 6 (Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 188).

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Marcius, together with his pride and oligarchical demeanour, won the hatred of the Roman people. Neither course, then, is to be approved; although the man who seeks to win the people by his favours is less blameworthy than those who heap insults on the multitude, in order to avoid the appearance of trying to win them. For it is a disgrace to flatter the people for the sake of power; but to get power by acts of terror, violence, and oppression, is not only a disgrace, it is also an injustice.

II. Now, that Marcius is usually thought to have been rather simple in his nature, and straightforward, while Alcibiades was unscrupulous in his public acts, and false, is very clear. And Alcibiades is particularly denounced for the malicious deceit by which he cheated the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, as Thucydides relates,¹ and put an end to the peace. But this policy of his, although it did plunge the city again into war, made it nevertheless strong and formidable, by reason of the alliance with Mantinea and Argos which Alcibiades secured for it. And yet Marcius himself also used deceit to stir up war between the Romans and Volscians, when he brought a false charge against the visitors to the games, as Dionysius relates;² and the motive for his action makes it the worse of the two. For he was not influenced by ambition, or by rivalry in a political struggle, as Alcibiades was, but simply gave way to his anger, from which passion, as Dion says, "no one ever gets a grateful return," and threw many districts of Italy into confusion, and needlessly sacrificed many innocent cities to his rage against his country.

¹ V. 45; cf. Plutarch’s Nicias, x.; Alcibiades, xiv.
² See Coriolanus, xxvi. 2; Dionysius Hal., Antiq. Rom. viii. 2.
καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης δὴ ὄργῃν μεγάλων αὐτὸς συμφ. 4 φορῶν κατέστη τοῖς πολίταις. ἀλλ’ ὅτε πρῶτον ἔγω ἐπανειλημμένης, εὐγνωμόνης, καὶ πάλιν ἀπορριφείς οὐκ ἐφήσθη τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀμαρτάνοιν συνέπεσ φάνεται μαλλιστά πράξαι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα, τούτ’ ἐποίησε, πρὸς τοὺς τότ’ ἄρχοντας οὐ φίλοις δύνασθαι ἐλθῶν καὶ 5 φράσας τὸ δέον καὶ διδάξας. Μάρκιος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὅλην κακὸς ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ὕφ’ ὅλης παθῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ κρατίστου μέρους συναδικηθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ συναληγήσαντος. ἔπειτα πόλλαῖς προσβείεις καὶ δεῖσείς μίαν ἱσμένων ὄργῃν καὶ ἀγνοιαν οὐ τεγχθεὶς οὐδ’ εἰξας ἐθήλωσεν ἐπὶ τῷ διαφθείρα τὴν πατρίδα καὶ καταβαλεῖν, οὐχ ὃπως ἀπολάβῃ καὶ κατέληθα, βαρὺν πόλεμον 6 καὶ ἄσπονδον ἐπανηρμένον. τούτῳ δὲ φήσει τις διαφέρειν Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν διὰ δέος ἁμα καὶ μύσος αὐτῶν μεταστήναι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, Μαρκίῳ δὲ πάντα δίκαια ποιοῦντας Οὐκολούσκους οὐ καλῶς εἰχεν ἐγκαταλιπτεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἤγεμῶν ἀποδέδεικτο 7 καὶ μεγίστην πίστιν εἰχε μετὰ δυνάμεως, οὐχ ώς ἐκείνος, ἀποχρωμένων μᾶλλον ἢ χρωμέων αὐτῷ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐν τῇ πόλει περιῶν καὶ κυλίν- δουμένους αὖθις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τέλος εἰς τὰς

1 τούτῳ δε' Coraës and Bekker read τούτῳ γε with C, and Bekker assumes a lacuna before the words.

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It is true, indeed, that Alcibiades also, through his anger, was the cause of great calamities to his countrymen. But just as soon as he saw that they were repentant, he showed them his goodwill, and after he had been driven away a second time, he did not exult over the mistakes of their generals, nor look with indifference upon their bad and perilous plans, but did precisely what Aristides is so highly praised for doing to Themistocles: he came to the men who were then in command, although they were not his friends, and told them plainly what they ought to do. Marcius, however, in the first place, did injury to his whole city, although he had not been injured by the whole of it, but the best and strongest part of it shared his wrongs and his distress; in the second place, by resisting and not yielding to the many embassies and supplications with which his countrymen tried to heal his single wrath and folly, he made it clear that he had undertaken a fierce and implacable war for the overthrow and destruction of his country, not that he might recover and regain it. Further, in this point it may be said there was a difference between them, namely, that Alcibiades, when he went over to the side of the Athenians, was moved by fear and hatred of the Spartans, who were plotting to take his life; whereas it was dishonourable for Marcius to leave the Volscians in the lurch when they were treating him with perfect fairness. For he was appointed their leader, and had the greatest credit and influence among them, unlike Alcibiades, whom the Lacedaemonians misused rather than used, who wandered about aimlessly in their city, and again was tossed to and fro in their camp, and at last threw himself
ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Τιςαφέρνου χείρας ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν: εἰ μὴ νῦν Δία
μὴ φθαρήσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας παντάπασι ποθῶν
κατελθεῖν ἐθεράπευε.

II. Χρήματα τοῖνον ὁ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ
λαβεῖν οὐκ εὖ πολλάκις ἐκ δωροδοκιῶν καὶ δια-
θέσθαι κακῶς εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ ἀκολασίαν ἱστορηταί:
Μάρκιον δὲ σὺν τιμῇ διδόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ
λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔπεισαν. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πολ-
λοίς ἐπαχθῆς ἦν ἐν ταῖς περὶ χρεών διαφοραῖς
πρὸς τὸν δήμον, ὡς οὐκ ἔπι κέρδεσιν, ἀλλὰ δι’
ὑβριν καὶ περιφροσύνην τοῖς πένησιν ἐπηρεάζον.

2 Ἀντίπατρος μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινι γράφων
περὶ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου τελευτής,
"Πρὸς τοῖς ἀλλοις," φησίν, "ὁ ἄνηγ καὶ τὸ
πείθειν εἰχε." τὰς δὲ Μαρκίων πράξεις καὶ
ἀρετὰς τούτοις μὴ προσὸν ἐπαχθῆς ἐποίησε
αὐτοῖς τοῖς εὐ παθοῦσι, τὸν ὄγκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν
ἐρημία σύνοικον, ὡς Πλάτων εἶπεν, αὐθάδειαν
μὴ ὑπομείναντας. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου τούναυτίον
ἐπισταμένου χρῆσθαι τοῖς προστυχχάνονσιν οἰ-
κείως, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἐν ὦς κατώρθων τὴν δόξαν
ἀνθεῖν μετ’ εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς εὐμεροῦσαν, ὁποῖον
καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἔνια πολλάκις ἱκαρίν ἐιχε
καὶ ὄραν. οἶδεν οὕτως μὲν οὐ μικρὰ βλάψας οὐδ’
ὁλίγα τὴν πόλιν ὄμοις ἀπεδείκνυτο πολλάκις
ἡγεμῶν καὶ στρατηγός, ἕκεινος δὲ μετιῶν ἐπὶ

1 πολλάκις bracketed by Bekker.
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into the hands of Tissaphernes; unless, indeed, he was all the while paying him court in order that the Athens to which he longed to return might not be utterly destroyed.

III. Furthermore, in the matter of money, we are told that Alcibiades often got it ill by taking bribes, and spent it ill in luxury and dissipation; whereas Marcius could not be persuaded to take it even when it was offered to him as an honour by his commanders. And for this reason he was especially odious to the multitude in the disputes with the people concerning debts, because they saw that it was not for gain, but out of insolence and scorn, that he acted despitefully towards the poor.

Antipater, writing in one of his letters about the death of Aristotle the philosopher,¹ says: “In addition to all his other gifts, the man had also that of persuasion”; and the absence of this gift in Marcius made his great deeds and virtues obnoxious to the very men whom they benefited, since they could not endure the arrogant pride of the man, and that self-will which is, as Plato says,² “the companion of solitude.” Alcibiades, on the contrary, understood how to treat in a friendly manner those who met him, and we cannot wonder that when he was successful his fame was attended with goodwill and honour, and flowered luxuriantly, since some of his errors even had often charm and felicity. This was the reason why, in spite of the great and frequent harm done by him to the city, he was nevertheless many times appointed leader and general; while Marcius, when he stood for an office which was his

¹ See Comparison of Aristides and Cato, ii. 4.
² See Coriolanus, xv. 4.
πολλαῖς ἀριστέαις καὶ ἀνδραγαθίαις ἀρχὴν προσήκουσαν ἐξέπεσεν. οὕτω τὸν μὲν οὐδὲ πάσχοντες κακῶς ἐδύναντο μισεῖν οἱ πολίται, τῷ δὲ περιήγηθαν θαυμαζομένῳ μὴ φιλεῖσθαι.

IV. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Μάρκιος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεδείξατο τῇ πόλει στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ καὶ στρατευμένου πολλάκις καὶ στρατηγοῦντος ἀπέλαυσαν οἱ Ἀθη-ναίοι καὶ παρὼν ἐκράτει τῶν ἔχθρῶν ὅσον ἐβούλετο, καὶ μὴ παρόντος ἵσχυσαν αἱ διαβολαί.

2 Μάρκιος δὲ παρὼν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατεδικάσθη, παρόντα δὲ Ὀυσολούσκοι διέφθειραν, οὐ δικαίως μὲν οὐδ’ ὅσιως, αἰτίαν δὲ τοῦ εὐλόγου παρέσχεν αὐτός, ὅτι δημοσία τὰς διαλύσεις μὴ προσδεξά-μενος, ἱδία δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ ἔλυσε τὴν ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολέμου μένοντος ἡλύσε τῶν ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολέμου μένοντος

3 ἀπώλεσε τὸν καιρὸν καὶ διέφθειρε. πείσαντα γὰρ ἔδει τοὺς πεπιστευκότας ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνους δικαίου πλείστον ἐποιεῖτο λόγον. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν Ὀυσολούσκου, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐμπλήσας τὴν ἐαυτοῦ βουλόμενος ἐνήγε τοῖς πόλεμον, εἴτ’ ἐληξεν, οὐ διὰ τὴν μητέρα καλῶς εἰχὲ φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῇ πατρίδι τῆς μητέρος. μέρος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ

4 τῆς πατρίδος ἦν ἐπολιορκεῖ. τὸ δὲ δημοσίαις ἱκεσίαις καὶ δεήσει πρέσβεων καὶ λιταῖς ἱερέων

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due in view of his valorous achievements, was defeated. And so it was that the one could not make himself hated by his countrymen, even when he was doing them harm; while the other was after all not beloved, even while he was admired.

IV. For Marcius did not, as a commander, obtain any great successes for his city, but only for his enemies against his country; whereas Alcibiades was often of service to the Athenians, both as a private soldier and as a commander. When he was at home, he mastered his adversaries to his heart's content; it was when he was absent that their calumnies prevailed. Marcius, on the contrary, was with the Romans when they condemned him, and with the Volscians when they slew him. The deed was not in accordance with justice or right, it is true, and yet his own acts supplied an excuse for it, because, after rejecting the terms of peace publicly offered, and suffering himself to be persuaded by the private solicitations of the women, he did not put an end to hostilities, but allowed the war to continue, while he threw away for ever its golden opportunity. For he should have won the consent of those who had put their trust in him, before retiring from his position, if he had the highest regard for their just claims upon him. If, on the other hand, he cared nothing for the Volscians, but was prosecuting the war merely to satisfy his own anger, and then stopped it abruptly, the honourable course had been, not to spare his country for his mother's sake, but his mother together with his country; since his mother and his wife were part and parcel of the native city which he was besieging. But after giving harsh treatment to public supplications, entreaties of embassies, and prayers of
Ἀπηνῶς χρησάμενον εἶτα χαρίσασθαι τῇ μητρὶ
tὴν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐ τῆς μητρὸς ἢν τιμῆ, ἀλλ᾽
ἀτμία τῆς πατρίδος, οίκτῳ καὶ παρατήσει διὰ
μίαν γυναῖκα σωζομένης, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιας σώζεσθαι
dι᾽ αὐτῆς. ἔπιθονος γὰρ ἡ χάρις καὶ ὅμη καὶ
ἀχάριστος ἁλθῆς καὶ πρὸς οὐδέτερους ἔχουσα
τὸ εὐγνώμον ἀνεχώρησε γὰρ μήτε πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ
tῶν πολεμουμένων μήτε πείσας τοὺς συμπολε-
μοῦντας.

5 Ὡν αἰτιον ἀπάντων τὸ ἀνομίλητον τοῦ τρόπου
καὶ λίαν ὑπερήφανον καὶ αὕθαδες, δὲ καθ᾽ αὐτὸ
μὲν ἐπαχθέν ἐστὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, τῷ δὲ φιλοτίμῳ
προσὸν γίνεται παντάπασιν ἀγριον καὶ ἀπα-
ραιτήτου. οὐ γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς
μὴ δεόμενοι τιμῆς, εἶτα χαλεπαίνουσι μὴ τυγχά-
νοντες. ὡπεὶ τὸ γε μὴ λιταρῆ μηδὲ θεραπευτικὸν
ὁχλῶν εἰναι καὶ Μέτελλος εἴχε καὶ Ἀριστείδης
6 καὶ Ἐσπαμεινώνδας· ἀλλὰ τῷ καταφρονεῖν ἁλθῆς
ὅν δὴμός ἐστὶ καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι κύριος,
ἐξοστρακιζόμενοι καὶ ἀποχειροτονύμενοι καὶ
καταδικαζόμενοι πολλάκις οὐκ ῥηγόζοντο τοῖς
πολίταις ἁγιωμοῦντι, ἀλλ᾽ ἡγάπων αὕθαις μετα-
μελομένους καὶ διηθλάττοντο παρακολούθων.
τὸν γὰρ ἤκιστα θεραπευτικὸν ἤκιστα πρέπει
tιμωρητικὸν εἶναι τῶν πολλῶν, ὡς τὸ χαλεπαίνειν
μάλιστα μὴ τυγχάνοντα τῆς τιμῆς ἕκ τοῦ σφόδρα
gλίχεσθαι φυόμενον.

V. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠρνεῖτο τιμῶμενος
χαίρειν καὶ δυσφορεῖν παρορώμενος, ὅτεν ἐπειράτο
priests, then to concede his withdrawal as a favour to his mother, was not so much an honour to that mother, as it was a dishonour to his country, which was thus saved by the pitiful intercession of a single woman, and held unworthy of salvation for its own sake. Surely the favour was invidious, and harsh, and really no favour at all, and unacceptable to both parties; for he retired without listening to the persuasions of his antagonists, and without gaining the consent of his comrades-in-arms.

The cause of all this lay in his unsociable, very overweening, and self-willed disposition, which of itself is offensive to most people, and when combined with an ambitious spirit, becomes altogether savage and implacable. Such men pay no court to the multitude, professing not to want their honours, and then are vexed if they do not get them. Certainly there was no tendency to importune or court the favour of the multitude in men like Metellus, Aristides, and Epaminondas; but owing to their genuine contempt for what a people has the power to give and take away, though they were repeatedly ostracised, defeated at elections, and condemned in courts of justice, they cherished no anger against their countrymen for their ingratitude, but showed them kindness again when they repented, and were reconciled with them when they asked it. Surely he who least courts the people's favour, ought least to resent their neglect, since vexation over failure to receive their honours is most apt to spring from an excessive longing after them.

V. Well, then, Alcibiades would not deny that he rejoiced to be honoured, and was displeased to be overlooked, and he therefore tried to be agreeable
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

προσφιλής εἶναι τοῖς παρούσι καὶ κεχαρισμένος· 
Μάρκιον δὲ θεραπεύειν μὲν οὐκ ἔιο τοὺς τιμῶν 
δυναμένους καὶ αὐξεῖν τὸ ὑπερήφανον, ὀργὴν δὲ 
kαὶ λύπην ἀμελουμένῳ τῷ φιλότιμῳ παρεῖχε.

καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐστιν ἃ τις ἂν αἰτιώσαιτο τοῦ ἀν-

δρός· τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πάντα λαμπρά· σωφροσύνης 
δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἐγκρατείας ἐνεκα τοῖς ἀριστοῖς 
kαὶ καθαρωτάτοις τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἄξιον αὐτοῦ 
παραβάλλειν, οὐκ Ἀλκιβιάδη μὰ Δία τῷ θρασυ-
tάτῳ περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ὀλιγωροτάτῳ τοῦ καλοῦ 
γενομένῳ.

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and pleasant to his associates; but the overweening pride of Marcius would not suffer him to pay court to those who had the power to honour and advance him, while his ambition made him feel angry and hurt when he was neglected. These are the blame-worthy traits in the man, but all the rest are brilliant. And for his temperance and superiority to wealth, he deserves to be compared with the best and purest of the Greeks, not with Alcibiades, who, in these regards, was the most unscrupulous of men, and the most careless of the claims of honour.
LYSANDER
ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ

I. Ὁ Ἀκανθίων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει τοιαύτην. “Βρασίδας καὶ Ἀκάνθιῳ ἀπ’ Ἀθηναίων.” διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τὸν ἐντὸς ἐστῶτα τοῦ οἴκου παρὰ ταῖς θύραις λίθινον ἀνδριάντα Βρασίδου νομίζουσιν εἶναι. Δυσάνδρου δὲ ἐστὶν εἰκονικός, εὐ μάλα κομῶντος ἔθει τῷ παλαίῳ καὶ 2 πώγωνα καθεμένου γενναίον. οὔ γάρ, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασίν, Ἀργεῖων μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἦτταν ἐπὶ πένθει καρέντων οἱ Σπαρτιάται πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς τὰς κόμας ἀγαλλόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀνήκαν, οὐδὲ Βακχιαδῶν τῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγόντων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀμόρφων διὰ τὸ κείρασθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς φανέντων εἰς ζηλοῦν αὐτοῖ τοῦ κομᾶν ἢλθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Δυσκύργειόν ἐστὶ. καὶ φασίν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡ κόμη 434 τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ὀρᾶσθαι ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους.

II. Δέγεται δὲ ὁ Δυσάνδρου πατήρ Ἀριστοκλείτου οἰκίας μὲν οὐ γενέσθαι βασιλικῆς, ἄλλας δὲ γένους εἶναι τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλείδῶν. ἐτράφη δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐν πενίᾳ, καὶ παρέσχεν ἐαυτὸν εὐτακτον, ὡς εἰ τις ἄλλος, πρὸς τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ

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1 In B.C. 424, Brasidas won Acanthus, a town on the Chalcidian peninsula, away from its alliance with Athens (Thuc. iv. 84–88).
2 Herodotus, i. 82.
LYSANDER

I. The treasury of the Acanthians at Delphi bears this inscription: "Brasidas and the Acanthians, with spoil from the Athenians." ¹ For this reason many think that the marble figure standing within the edifice, by the door, is a statue of Brasidas. But it really represents Lysander, with his hair very long, after the ancient custom, and growing a generous beard. For it is not true, as some state, that because the Argives, after their great defeat, shaved their heads for sorrow, the Spartans, in contrary fashion, let their hair grow long in exultation over their victory; ² nor was it because the Bacchiadae, ³ when they fled from Corinth to Lacedaemon, looked mean and unsightly from having shaved their heads, that the Spartans, on their part, became eager to wear their hair long; but this custom also goes back to Lycurgus. And he is reported to have said that a fine head of hair makes the handsome more comely to look upon, and the ugly more terrible. ⁴

II. The father of Lysander, Aristocleititus, is said to have been of the lineage of the Heracleidae, though not of the royal family. But Lysander was reared in poverty, and showed himself as much as any man conformable to the customs of his people;

³ An oligarchical family, deposed from rule in Corinth by Cypselus, about 650 B.C. (Herod. v. 92).
⁴ Cf. Lycurgus, xxii. 1.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἀνδρώδη καὶ κρείττονα πάσης ἡδονῆς, πλὴν εἰ
tινα τιμωμένοις καὶ κατορθοῦσιν αἱ καλαὶ πράξεις
ἐπιφέρουσι. ταύτης δὲ οὐκ ἀισχρόν ἔστιν ἡττά-
σθαι τοὺς νέους ἐν Σπάρτῃ. Βουλούνται γὰρ εὐθὺς εξ
ἀρχῆς πάσχειν τι τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν πρὸς δόξαν,
ἀλλινομένους τε τοῖς ψόγοις καὶ μεγαλυνομένους
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων· ὅ δὲ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀκίνητος ἐν
tούτοις ὡς ἀφιλότιμος πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀργὸς
καταφρονεῖται. τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλότιμον αὐτῷ καὶ
φιλόνεικον ἐκ τῆς Δακωνικῆς παρέμεινε παιδείας
ἐγγενόμενον, καὶ οὐδὲν τι μέγα χρὴ τὴν φύσιν ἐν
τούτοις αὐτιάσθαι· θεραπευτικὸς δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν
μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ Σπαρτιάτην φύσει δοκεῖ γενέσθαι,
καὶ βάρος ἐξουσίας διὰ χρείαν ἐνεγκεῖν εὐκολος·
ὁ πολιτικὴς δεινότητος οὐ μικρὸν ἐνυοι ποιοῦνται
μέρος. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὰς μεγάλας φύσεις ἀπο-
φαίνων μελαγχολικὰς, ὡς τὴν Σωκράτους καὶ
Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους, ἱστορεῖ καὶ Δύσαιρον
οὐκ εὐθὺς, ἀλλὰ πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῇ μελαγχολίᾳ
περιπεσεῖν.

4 Ἰδιον δὲ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τὸ καλὸς πενίαν
φέροντα, καὶ μηδαμοῦ κρατήθεντα μηδὲ διαφθα-
ρέντα χρήμασιν αὐτοῦ, ἐμπλήσαι τὴν πατρίδα
πλούτου καὶ φιλοπλοντίας καὶ παῦσαι θαυμαζο-
μένην ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θαυμαζέων πλοῦτον, εἰςάγοντα
χρυσίον καὶ ἀργυρίῳ πλῆθος μετὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν
πόλεμον, εαυτῷ δὲ μηδεμίαν δραχμὴν ὑπολειπό-
μενον. Διοικεῖοι δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ πέμψαντος
αὐτοῦ ταῖς θυγατράσι πολυτελῆ χυτῶν τῶν
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of a manly spirit, too, and superior to every pleasure, excepting only that which their good deeds bring to those who are successful and honoured. To this pleasure it is no disgrace for the youth in Sparta to succumb. Indeed, from the very first they wish their boys to be sensitive towards public opinion, distressed by censure, and exalted by praise; and he who is insensitive and stolid in these matters, is looked down upon as without ambition for excellence, and a cumberer of the ground. Ambition, then, and the spirit of emulation, were firmly implanted in him by his Laconian training, and no great fault should be found with his natural disposition on this account. But he seems to have been naturally subservient to men of power and influence, beyond what was usual in a Spartan, and content to endure an arrogant authority for the sake of gaining his ends, a trait which some hold to be no small part of political ability. And Aristotle, when he sets forth that great natures, like those of Socrates and Plato and Heracles, have a tendency to melancholy, writes also\(^1\) that Lysander, not immediately, but when well on in years, was a prey to melancholy.

But what is most peculiar in him is that, though he bore poverty well, and though he was never mastered nor even corrupted by money, yet he filled his country full of wealth and the love of wealth, and made her cease to be admired for not admiring wealth, importing as he did an abundance of gold and silver after the war with Athens, although he kept not a single drachma for himself. And when Dionysius the tyrant sent his daughters some costly tunics of Sicilian make, he would not receive them,

\(^1\) Problems, xxx. 1.
ПЛУТАРЧ'S LIVES

Σικελίων, οὔκ ἔλαβεν, εἴπὼν φοβεῖσθαι μὴ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον αἰσχραὶ φανώσιν. ἀλλ' ὄλγουν ὑστερον πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τύραννον ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀποσταλεῖς προσβευτής, προσπέμψατος αὐτῷ δύο στολὰς ἐκείνου καὶ κελεύσατος ἦν βούλεται τοῦτον ἐλόμενον τῇ θυγατρὶ κομίζειν, αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνην ἐφ' ἐβέλτιον αἰρῆσεσθαι, καὶ λαβὼν ἄμφοτέρας ἀπῆλθεν.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου μήκος λαμβάνοντος, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῶν Ἅθηναίων κακοπραγίαν αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπιδόξων ὄντων ἐκπεσεῖσθαι τῆς θαλάττης, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὑστερον ἀπαγορεύσειν παντάπασιν, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπιστᾶς τοὺς πράγμασι μεγάλην μεταβολὴν ἐποίησε καὶ κατέστησε τοὺς ναυτικοὺς ἀγώνας εἰς ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς, δείσαντες οὖν ὁ Δακεδαίμονιοι πάλιν καὶ γενόμενοι ταῖς προθυμίαις καυνοὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἡγεμόνος τε δεινοῦ καὶ παρασκευῆς ἐρρωμενεστέρας δεόμενον, ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἡγεμονίαν Δύσανδρον. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐρίων εὔνους μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ λακωνίζουσαν προθυμότατα, πράττουσαν δὲ τότε λυπρῶς καὶ κινδυνεύουσαν ἐκβαρβαρωθῆναι τοὺς Περσικοὺς ἔθεσι διὰ τὰς ἐπιμέλειας, ἀτε δὴ τῆς Λυδίας περικεχυμένης καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ 3 πολλὰ διατριβόντων, στρατόπεδον βαλόμενος καὶ τὰ πλοία πανταχόθεν ἔλκεσθαι κελεύσας ἐκεί τὰ φορτηγά, καὶ ναυτηγίαν τριήρων ἐκεῖ κατασκευασάμενος, ταῖς μὲν ἐμπορίαις τοὺς λιμένας αὐτῶν ἄνελαβεν, ἐργασίαις δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν, χρηματισμῶν δὲ τοὺς οἴκους καὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐνέ-238
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saying he was afraid they would make his daughters look more ugly. But a little later, when he was sent as ambassador to the same tyrant from the same city, and was presented by him with two robes, and ordered to choose which of them he would, and carry it to his daughter, he said that she could choose better herself, and went off with both of them.

III. The Peloponnesian war had now been carried on for a long time, and after their disaster in Sicily it was expected that the Athenians would straightway lose their control of the sea, and presently give up the struggle altogether. But Alcibiades, returning from exile and taking the command, wrought a great change, and made his countrymen again a match for their enemies by sea. The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, were frightened again, and summoning up fresh zeal for the war, which required, as they thought, an able leader and a more powerful armament, sent out Lysander to take command upon the sea. When he came to Ephesus, he found the city well disposed to him and very zealous in the Spartan cause, although it was then in a low state of prosperity and in danger of becoming utterly barbarized by the admixture of Persian customs, since it was enveloped by Lydia, and the King’s generals made it their headquarters. He therefore pitched his camp there, and ordered the merchant vessels from every quarter to land their cargoes there, and made preparations for the building of triremes. Thus he revived the traffic of their harbours, and the business of their market, and filled their houses and workshops with

1 413 B.C. Cf. Thuc. viii. 2. 2 Cf. Alcibiades, xxxii. 4. 3 In the autumn of 408 B.C.
πλησεν, ὡστε πρῶτον ἀπ᾿ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς νῦν ὄντος ὄγκου καὶ μεγέθους διὰ Δύσανδρον γενέσθαι.

IV. Πυθόμενος δὲ Κύρον εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίχθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ύιόν, ἀνέβη διαλεξόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ Τισαφέρνου κατηγορήσων, ὃς ἔχων πρόσταγμα Δακεδαιμονίως βοηθεῖν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔξελάσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐδόκει δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην ύψημενος ἀπρόθυμος εἶναι καὶ γλίσχρως χρηματικὸν τὸ ναυτικὸν φθείρειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Κύρῳ βουλομένῳ τὸν Τισαφέρνην ἐν αὐτίας εἶναι καὶ κακῶς ἠκούειν, ποιηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἱδία διαφερόμενον. ἔκ τε ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ τῆς ἀλλης συνδιαιτήσεως ὁ Δύσανδρος ἀγαπηθεῖς καὶ τῷ θεραπευτικῷ μάλιστα τῆς ὀμιλίας ἐλὼν τὸ μειρά.

κιον ἐπέρρωσε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ἔπει δὲ ἀπαλλαττεσθαι βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ἐστὶν ὁ Κύρος ἡξίου μὴ διωθεῖσθαι τὰς παρ᾿ αὐτῶν φιλοφροσύνας, ἀλλ᾿ αἱτεῖν ὁ βοῦλοικοι καὶ φράζειν ὡς σύνεσις ἀπλώς ἀποτευχόμενον, ὑπολαβῶν ὁ Δύσανδρος, „Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν," εἶπεν, „οὕτως ἔχεις, ὁ Κύρε, προθυμίας, αὐτοῦμαι σε καὶ παρακαλῶ προσθείναι τῷ μισθῷ τῶν ναυτῶν ὀβολῶν, ὅτις ὑπρόβολοι ἀντὶ τριῳβόλου λαμβάνωσιν.” ἡσθεῖς οὖν ὁ Κύρος ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μυρίους αὐτῷ δαρεικοῦ ἔδωκεν, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιμετρήσας τὸν ὀβολὸν τοῖς ναύταις καὶ λαμπρυνόμενος ὅλῳ ἄρρητος τῆς ναύς τῶν πολεμίων κενᾶς ἐποίησεν. ὅπεροίτων γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλέον δι-
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profits, so that from that time on, and through his efforts, the city had hopes of achieving the stateliness and grandeur which it now enjoys.

IV. When he learned that Cyrus, the King's son, was come to Sardis, he went up to confer with him and to accuse Tissaphernes, who, though he was commissioned to aid the Lacedaemonians and drive the Athenians from the sea, was thought to be remiss in his duty, through the efforts of Alcibiades, showing lack of zeal, and destroying the efficiency of the fleet by the meagre subsidies which he gave. Now Cyrus was well pleased that Tissaphernes, who was a base man and privately at feud with him, should be accused and maligned. By this means, then, as well as by his behaviour in general, Lysander made himself agreeable, and by the submissive deference of his conversation, above all else, he won the heart of the young prince, and roused him to prosecute the war with vigour. At a banquet which Cyrus gave him as he was about to depart, the prince begged him not to reject the tokens of his friendliness, but to ask plainly for whatever he desired, since nothing whatsoever would be refused him. "Since, then," said Lysander in reply, "thou art so very kind, I beg and entreat thee, Cyrus, to add an obol to the pay of my sailors, that they may get four obols instead of three." 3 Cyrus, accordingly, delighted with his public spirit, gave him ten thousand darics, out of which he added the obol to the pay of his seamen, and, by the renown thus won, soon emptied the ships of his enemies. For most of their seamen

1 He succeeded Tissaphernes as satrap of Lydia.
3 Cf. Xen. Hell. i. 5, 6 f.
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dόντας, οί δὲ μένοντες ἀπρόθυμοι καὶ στασιώδεις ἐγίνοντο καὶ κακὰ παρεῖχον ὅσημέραι τοῖς στρατη-
γοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καίπερ οὕτως περισπάσας καὶ κακώσας τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Δύσανδρος ἀφρώδει
ναυμαχεῖ, δραστήριον ὄντα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ νεών πλήθει περιόντα καὶ μάχας καὶ κατὰ γῆν
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς ἐκεῖνο χρόνον πάσας ἀντ-
tητον ἤγωνισμένον δεδοικώς.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδης εἰς Φωκαίαν ἐκ
Σάμου διέπλευσεν ἕπι τοῦ στόλου καταλιπὼν
Ἀντίοχον τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος οἶον
ἐφυβρίζων τῷ Δύσανδρῳ καὶ θρασυνόμενος ἐπέ-
πλευσε δυσὶ τριήρεσιν εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν
Ἐφεσίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ναῦσταθμῶν γέλωται καὶ
πατάγω χρόμενος σοβαρῶς παρῆλανεν, ἀγανακ-
tήςας ὁ Δύσανδρος καὶ καταστάσας τὸ πρώτον
οὐ πολλὰς τῶν τριήρων εἰδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἢδων δὲ
αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναίοις βοηθοῦντας ἄλλας ἐπλήρου,
καὶ τέλος ἐναυμάχον ὑμίπασον. ἐνίκα δὲ
Δύσανδρος, καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις λαβὼν
ἐστησε τρόπαιον. ἔπὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὁ
μὲν ἐν ἀστεί δῆμος ὀργισθεὶς ἀπεχειροτόησεν,
ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ στρατιωτῶν ἀτιμαζόμενος
καὶ κακῶς ἀκούων ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον ἐκ
τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ταύτην μὲν ὤν τὴν μάχην,
καίπερ οὐ μεγάλην τῇ πράξει γενομένην, ἠ τύχη
δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην ὀνομαστὴν ἐποίησεν.

3 Ὁ δὲ Δύσανδρος ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἰς Ἐφεσον
μεταπεμπόμενος οὖς ἐώρα μάλιστα ταῖς τε τόλ-
μαις καὶ τοῖς φρονήμασιν ὑπέρ τοὺς πολλοὺς
ὀντας, ἀρχὰς ύπεστείρε τῶν ὑστερον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
γενομένων δεκαδαρχίων καὶ νεωτερισμῶν, προ-
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came over to those who offered higher pay, and those who remained were listless and mutinous, and gave daily trouble to their officers. However, although he had thus injured and weakened his enemies, Lysander shrank from a naval battle, through fear of Alcibiades, who was energetic, had a greater number of ships, and in all his battles by land and sea up to that time had come off victorious.

V. But after this, Alcibiades sailed away from Samos to Phocaea, leaving Antiochus, his pilot, in command of the fleet; and Antiochus, as if in bold mockery of Lysander, put in to the harbour of Ephesus with two triremes, and rowed ostentatiously past his ships, as they lay drawn up on shore, with noise and laughter. Lysander was incensed, and launching at first only a few of his triremes, pursued him; then seeing that the Athenians were coming to the rescue, he manned others, and at last the action became general. Lysander was victorious, too, captured fifteen triremes, and set up a trophy. Thereupon the people of Athens, flying into a passion, deposed Alcibiades from his command, and finding himself slighted and abused by the soldiers at Samos, he left the camp and sailed off to the Chersonese. This battle, then, although actually not a great one, was made memorable by its bearing on the fortunes of Alcibiades.¹

Lysander now summoned from their various cities to Ephesus men whom he saw to be most eminent for confidence and daring, and sowed in their minds the seeds of the revolutionary decadarchies² afterwards instituted by him, urging and inciting them to

¹ Cf. Alcibiades, xxxv.-xxxvi.
² Governing bodies of ten men.
τρέπων καὶ παροξύνων ἐταίρικά συνίστασθαι καὶ
προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς ἁμα τῷ
καταλυθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῶν τε δήμων
ἀπαλλαξομένους καὶ δυναστεύοντας ἐν ταῖς
4 πατρίσι. τούτων δὲ τὴν πίστιν ἐκάστῳ δι’
ἔργων παρεῖχε, τοὺς ἢδη γεγονότας φίλους αὐτῷ
καὶ ξένους εἰς μεγάλα πράγματα καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ
στρατηγίας ἀνάγων, καὶ συναδικῶν καὶ συνεξ-
αμαρτάνων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων πλεονεξίας,
ὥστε προσέχειν ἀπαντᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ χαρίζεσθαι
καὶ ποθεῖν, ἐλπίζουσαν οὐδενὸς ἀτυχίσεων τῶν
5 μεγίστων ἐκείνων κρατοῦντος. διὸ καὶ Ῥα-
λικρατίδαν ὅτι εὐθὺς ἢδεως εἶδον ἐλθόντα τῷ
Λυσάνδρῳ διάδοχον τῆς ναυαρχίας, ὥστε, ὡς
ὕστερον διδοῦσι πείραν ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο πάντων
ἀριστος καὶ δικαιότατος, ἥρεσκοντο τῷ τρόπῳ 436
τῆς ἴχνηνιας ἀπλοῦν τι καὶ Δώρου ἐχύσης καὶ
ἀληθών. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τὴν ἁρετὴν ὡσπερ
ἀγάλματος ἡρωϊκοῦ κάλλος ἑθαύμαξον, ἔποθουν
δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου σπουδὴν καὶ τὸ φιλέταιρον καὶ
χρείωδες ἐξήτουν, ὡστε ἀδυμεῖν ἐκπλέοντος αὐτοῦ
καὶ δακρύειν.

VI. Ὁ δὲ τούτων τε τῷ Ἐκλεικρατίδᾳ δυσ-
μενεστέροις ἐποίει ἐτι μᾶλλον, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ
Κύρου χρημάτων αὐτῷ δεδομένων εἰς τὸ ναυτικὸν
τὰ περίοντα πάλιν εἰς Σάρδεις ἀνέπεμψεν, αὐτὸν
αἰτεῖν, εἰ βούλωτο, τὸν Ἐκλεικρατίδαν καὶ σκο-
πεῖν ὁπως θρέψοι τοὺς στρατιώτας κελεύσας.
2 τέλος δὲ ἀποπλέων ἐμαρτύρατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι
form political clubs in their several cities, and apply themselves to public affairs, assuring them that as soon as the Athenian empire was destroyed, they could rid themselves of their democracies and become themselves supreme in power. Moreover, by actual benefits he gave them all a confidence in this future, promoting those who were already his friends and allies to large enterprises and honours and commands, and taking a share himself in their injustice and wickedness in order to gratify their rapacity. Therefore all attached themselves to him, courted his favour, and fixed their hearts upon him, expecting to attain all their highest ambitions if only he remained in power. Therefore, too, they neither looked kindly upon Callicratidas at the first, when he came to succeed Lysander in the admiralty,¹ nor afterwards, when he had shown by manifest proofs that he was the justest and noblest of men, were they pleased with the manner of his leadership, which had a certain Doric simplicity and sincerity. They did, indeed, admire his virtue, as they would the beauty of a hero's statue; but they yearned for the zealous support of Lysander, and missed the interest which he took in the welfare of his partisans, so that when he sailed away they were dejected and shed tears.

VI. Lysander made these men yet more disaffected towards Callicratidas. He also sent back to Sardis what remained of the money which Cyrus had given him for the navy, bidding Callicratidas ask for it himself, if he wished, and see to the maintenance of his soldiers. And finally, as he sailed away, he called Callicratidas to witness that

¹ Late in the year 407 B.C. It was Spartan policy to change their admiral yearly.
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θαλασσοκρατοῦν τὸ ναυτικὸν παραδίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ἐλέγχει τὴν φιλοτιμώμαι ἀλαζονικῇ καὶ κενῇ οὕσαν, "Οὕκοιν," ἔφη, "λαβὼν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμων καὶ πεπλεύσας εἰς Μίλητον ἐκεῖ μοι παράδος τὰς τριήρεις; δεδείναι γὰρ οὐ χρὴ παραπλέοντας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ πολεμίους.

3 εἰ θαλασσοκρατοῦμεν." πρὸς ταῦτα εἴπὼν ὁ Λύσιανδρος ὅτι οὐκ αὐτός, ἀλλ' ἔκεινος ἄρχων τῶν νεῶν, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἐν πολλῇ τὸν Καλλικρατίδαν ἀπορία καταλύσων. οὔτε γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἄφικτο χρήματα κομίζων, οὔτε τὰς πόλεις ἀργυρολογείν καὶ βιαζέσθαι μοχηρᾶ

4 πραττούσας ὑπέμεινε. λοιπὸν οὖν ἢν ἐπὶ θύρας ἱόντα τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, ὥσπερ Λύσιανδρος, αἰτείν. πρὸς δὲ πάντων ἀφυστάτος ἐτύγχανεν, ἀνὴρ ἐλευθερίου καὶ μεγαλόφρου, καὶ πάσαν ὑφ' Ἐλλήνων ἠτταν" Ἐλλησιν ἕγομένοις εὐπρεπητέραν εἰναι τοῦ κολακεύειν καὶ φοιτᾷν ἐπὶ θύρας ἄνθρωπον βαρβάρων, πολὺ χρυσόν, ἀλλο δὲ οὕδεν καλὸν ἐχόντων.

5 Ἐκβιαζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας, ἀναβὰς εἰς Λυδίαν εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ φράζει προσέταξεν ὃτι Καλλικρατίδας ὁ ναῦαρχος ἢκεῖ διαλεχθῆναι βουλόμενος αὐτῷ. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ θύρας τινὸς εἰπόντος, "Ἀλλ' οὐ σχολὴ νῦν, ὦ ξένε, Κύρῳ πίνει γὰρ," ἀφελεστάτα πως ὁ Καλλικρατίδας, "Οὐδέν," ἔφη, "δεινὸν αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐστῶς ἅπαμενῶ, μέχρι πῆς.

6 τότε μὲν οὖν ὄξας ἀγροῖκος τις εἶναι καὶ καταγελασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήλθεν ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ θύρας οὐ παρείθη, βαρέως
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the fleet which he handed over to him was in command of the sea. But he, wishing to prove the emptiness and vanity of this ambitious boast, said: "In that case, keep Samos on the left, sail to Miletus, and there hand the triremes over to me; surely we need not fear to sail past the enemy at Samos if we are masters of the sea." To this Lysander answered that Callicratidas, and not he, was in command of the ships, and sailed off to Peloponnesus, leaving Callicratidas in great perplexity.\footnote{Cf. Xen. Hell. i. 6, 2 ff.} For neither had he brought money from home with him, nor could he bear to lay the cities under forced contribution when they were already in an evil plight. The only course left, therefore, was to go to the doors of the King's generals, as Lysander had done, and ask for money. For this he was of all men least fitted by nature, being of a free and lofty spirit, and one who thought any and every defeat of Greeks at the hands of Greeks more becoming to them than visits of flattery to the houses of Barbarians, who had much gold, but nothing else worth while.

Constrained, however, by his necessities, he went up into Lydia, proceeded at once to the house of Cyrus, and ordered word to be sent in that Callicratidas the admiral was come and wished to confer with him. And when one of the door-keepers said to him: "But Cyrus is not at leisure now, Stranger, for he is at his wine"; Callicratidas replied with the utmost simplicity: "No matter, I will stand here and wait till he has had his wine." This time, then, he merely withdrew, after being taken for a rustic fellow and laughed at by the Barbarians. But when he was come a second time to the door and


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ένεγκὼν εἰς Ἐφεσον φύχετο, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαρόμενος κακὰ τοῖς πρῶτοις ἐντυρψηθεὶς ὑπὸ βαρβάρων καὶ διδάξασιν αὐτοὺς ὑβρίζειν διὰ πλούτου, ὃμνῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἡ μῆν, ὅταν πρῶτον εἰς Σπάρτην παραγένηται, πάντα πονῆσειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλυθῆναι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, ὡς φοβερὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις εἶπεν αὐτοῖ καὶ παῦσαι τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους δεόμενοι δυνάμεως.

VII. Ἀλλὰ Καλλικρατίδας μὲν ἄξια τῆς Δακεδαίμονος διανοηθὲιν, καὶ γενόμενος τοῖς ἀκροὶς ἐνάμιλλος τῶν Ἐλλήνων διὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ μεγαλοφυχίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν, μετ’ οὗ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν Ἀργονούσιος καταναυμαχηθεὶς ἤφανίζηθα. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ὑποφερομένων οἱ σύμμαχοι πρεσβεῖαν πέμποντες εἰς Σπάρτην ἦτοῦντο Δύσανδρον ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν, ὡς πολὺ προθυμότερον ἀντιληψόμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνου στρατηγοῦντος. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Κύρος ἄξιον ἐπέστελλεν. ἔπει δὲ νόμος ἢν οὐκ ἐὼν διὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν, ἢβούλοντο τε χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς συμμάχοις οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι, τὸ μὲν ὅνομα τῆς ναυαρχίας Ἀράκω τινὶ περιέθεται, τὸν δὲ Δύσανδρον ἐπιστολέα τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δ’ ἑργῷ κύριον ἀπάντων ἐξέπεμψαν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πλείστοις τῶν πολετυμομένων καὶ δυναμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πάλαι ποθοῦμενος ἠκείν ἠπιτίζον γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἵσχύσειν δέ αὐτοῦ παντάπασι τῶν δῆμων καταλυθέντων τοῖς δὲ τῶν ἀπλοῖν καὶ γενναίον ἀγαπῶσι τῶν ἰγμονῶν 437

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was refused admittance, he was indignant, and set off for Ephesus, invoking many evils upon those who first submitted to the mockery of the Barbarians and taught them to be insolent because of their wealth, and swearing roundly to the bystanders that as soon as he got back to Sparta, he would do all he could to reconcile the Greeks with one another, in order that they might themselves strike fear into the Barbarians, and cease soliciting their power against each other.

VII. But Callicratidas, after cherishing purposes worthy of Lacedaemon, and showing himself worthy to compete with the most eminent of the Greeks by reason of his righteousness, magnanimity, and valour, not long afterwards lost the sea-fight at Arginusae and vanished from among men.¹ Then, their cause declining, the allies sent an embassy to Sparta and asked that Lysander be made admiral, declaring that they would grapple much more vigorously with the situation if he were their commander. Cyrus also sent to make the same request. Now the Lacedaemonians had a law forbidding that the same man should be admiral twice, and yet they wished to gratify their allies; they therefore invested a certain Aracus with the title of admiral, and sent out Lysander as vice-admiral,² nominally, but really with supreme power. So he came out, as most of those who had political power and influence in the cities had long desired, for they expected to become still stronger by his aid when the popular governments had been utterly overthrown; but to those who loved simplicity and nobility in the character of their leaders,

¹ In the late summer of 406 B.C. (Xen. Hell. i. 6, 33).
² In the spring of 405 B.C. (Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 7).
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τρόπων, ὁ Δύσανδρος τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ παραβαλλόμενος ἔδοκει πανούργος εἶναι καὶ σοφιστής, ἀπάταις τὰ πολλὰ διαποικίλλοις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῷ λυσιτελοῦντι μεγαλύνων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῷ συμφέροντι χρώμενος ὡς καλφ, καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐ φύσει τοῦ ψεύδους κρείττον ἡγουμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐκατέρου τῇ χρείᾳ τὴν τιμὴν ὅριον. 4 τῶν δ’ ἄξιοντων μὴ πολεμεῖν μετὰ δόλου τοὺς ἄφ’ Ἡρακλέος γεγονότας καταγελαν ἐκέλευν· “Οποιον γὰρ ἡ λεωτή μὴ ἐφικνεῖται, προσραπτέον ἐκεὶ τὴν ἁλωτείν.”

VIII. Τοιαύτα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ Μίλητον ἱστόρηται. τῶν γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, οἷς ὑπέσχετο συγκαταλύσειν τε τῶν δήμων καὶ συνεκβαλεῖν τοὺς διαφόρους, μεταβαλομένων καὶ διαλαγέντων τοὺς ἐχθροῖς, φανερῶς μὲν ἤδεσθαι προσεποιεῖτο καὶ συνιδαλλάττειν, κρύφα δὲ λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ κακίζων παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ- 2 θέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς. ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο γινομένην τὴν ἑπανάστασιν, ὀξέως βοηθῆσας καὶ παρεισελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἷς πρῶτοι ἐπιτύχοι τῶν ὑσπεριζόντων ἐχαλέπαινε τῇ φωνῇ καὶ προσήγη τραχυνόμενος ὡς ἐπιθήσεσθαι δίκην αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐτί προσ- 3 δοκάν δεινῶν αὐτοῦ παρόντος. υπεκρίνετο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διεποίκιλλε, τοὺς δημοτικωτάτους καὶ κρατίστους βουλόμενος μὴ φεύγειν, ἀλλ’ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει μείνατας. δ καὶ συνεβη- πάντες γὰρ ἀπεσφάγησαν οἱ καταπιστεύσαντες.

Ἀπομνημονεύεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀνδροκλείδον λόγος πολλήν τινα κατηγορῶν τοῦ Δυσάνδρου περὶ τοὺς
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Lysander, compared with Callicratidas, seemed to be unscrupulous and subtle, a man who tricked out most of what he did in war with the varied hues of deceit, extolling justice if it was at the same time profitable, but if not, adopting the advantageous as the honourable course, and not considering truth as inherently better than falsehood, but bounding his estimate of either by the needs of the hour. Those who demanded that the descendants of Heracles should not wage war by deceit he held up to ridicule, saying that “where the lion’s skin will not reach, it must be patched out with the fox’s.”

VIII. Of such a sort were his dealings with Miletus, according to the record. For when his friends and allies, whom he had promised to aid in overthrowing the democracy and expelling their opponents, changed their minds and became reconciled to their foes, openly he pretended to be pleased and to join in the reconciliation; but in secret he reviled and abused them, and incited them to fresh attacks upon the multitude. And when he perceived that the uprising was begun, he quickly came up and entered the city, where he angrily rebuked the first conspirators whom he met, and set upon them roughly, as though he were going to punish them, but ordered the rest of the people to be of good cheer and to fear no further evil now that he was with them. But in this he was playing a shifty part, wishing the leading men of the popular party not to fly, but to remain in the city and be slain. And this was what actually happened; for all who put their trust in him were slaughtered.

Furthermore, there is a saying of Lysander’s, recorded by Androcleides, which makes him guilty of
4 ὀρκουσ εὐχέρειαν. ἐκέλευε γὰρ, ὡς φησι, τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ὀρκοὺς ἡματαπάν, ἀπομιμούμενος Πολυκράτη τὸν Σάμιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τύραννον στρατηγός, οὐδὲ Δακώνωκον τὸ χρησθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ὀσπερ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑβριστικῶτερον. ὁ γὰρ ὀρκοὶ παρακρουόμενος τὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν ὀμολογεῖ δεδίεναι, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖν.

IX. Ὁ δ’ οὖν Κύρος εἰς Σάρδεις μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Δύσανδρον, τὰ μὲν ἐδωκε, τὰ δὲ ὑπέσχετο, νεανιευσάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκεῖνον χάριν καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ὁ πατὴρ διδάξῃ καταχορηγήσειν τὰ οἰκεία· κἂν ἐπιλίπη πάντα, κατακόψειν ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὸν βρόντον ἐφ' ὑμῖν καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζε, χρυσοῖς καὶ ἄργυροις.

2 ὄντα. τέλος δὲ εἰς Μηδίαν ἀναβαίνων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, τοὺς τε φόρους ἀπέδειξε τῶν πόλεων λαμβάνειν ἐκείνοις, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ διεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἀσπασάμενος δὲ καὶ δεήθης μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Ἀθηναίοις, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι πάλιν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ναῦς ἐχοντα πολλὰς ἐκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας, ἀνέβαινεν ὡς βασιλέα.

Δύσανδρος δὲ μῆτε ναυμαχεῖν ἀγχωμάλω πλήθει δυνάμενος μῆτε ἁγρόν καθέσθαι μετὰ νεῶν τοσούτων, ἀγαθεῖς ἐνία τρισιγγάγητο τῶν νῆσων, Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Σαλαμίνα προσμίξας κατέδραμεν.

3 εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβάς καὶ τὸν Ἀγίων ἀσπασάμενος, κατέβη γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκ Δεκελείας πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐπέδειξε τῷ πεζῷ παρόντι τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ

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1 Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 13 f.
2 In the spring of 413 B.C. the Spartans had fortified Deceleia, a few miles N.W. of Athens, and stationed there a
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the greatest recklessness in the matter of oaths. It was his policy, according to this authority, “to cheat boys with knuckle-bones, but men with oaths,” thus imitating Polycrates of Samos; not a proper attitude in a general towards a tyrant, nor yet a Laconian trait to treat the gods as one’s enemies are treated, nay, more outrageously still; since he who over-reaches his enemy by means of an oath, confesses that he fears that enemy, but despises God.

IX. Well, then, Cyrus summoned Lysander to Sardis, and gave him this, and promised him that, ardently protesting, to gratify him, that he would actually squander his own fortune, if his father gave him nothing for the Spartans; and if all else failed, he said he would cut up the throne on which he sat when giving audience, a throne covered with gold and silver. And finally, as he was going up into Media to wait upon his father, he assigned to Lysander the tribute of the cities, and entrusted his own government to him; and embracing him in farewell, and begging him not to fight the Athenians at sea until he was come back, and promising to come back with many ships from Phoenicia and Cilicia, he set out to go up to the King.¹

Then Lysander, who could neither fight a naval battle on equal terms, nor remain idle with the large fleet at his disposal, put out to sea and reduced some of the islands, and touching at Aegina and Salamis, overran them. Then he landed in Attica and saluted Agis, who came down in person from Deceleia² to meet him, and displayed to the land forces there the

permanent garrison under Agis the king. Lysander’s ravaging of Aegina and Salamis was just before his siege of Athens, according to Xenophon (Hell. ii. 2, 9).
καὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐρήμου καταλαβὼν ἐπεχείρει λαμψακηνοὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ θαλάττης ταῖς ναυσί, Ὀώραξ δὲ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ συνανύσας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ προσέβαλε τοῖς τείχεσιν. ἔλαυν δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στόλος ὑγάδοκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν τρήραν ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἄρτι καθωρμημένος εἰς Ἐλαιοῦντα τῆς Χερρονήσου, πυθανόμενοι δὲ ἀπολωλέναι τὴν Δάμψακον εὐθὺς εἰς 438

5 Σηστὸν καταίρουσι. κάκειθεν ἐπιστισμένοι παρέπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς, ἀντιπέρας τῶν πολεμίων ἔτη ναυλοχούντων περὶ τὴν Δάμψακον. ἐστρατήγουν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἅλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Φιλοκλῆς ὁ πείσας ποτὲ ψηφίσασθαι τῶν δήμων ἀποκόπτειν τὸν δεξιῶν ἀντίχειρα τῶν ἀλισκομένων κατὰ πόλην, ὡς δὲ πολυτελεῖ, μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύνονται, κώπην δὲ ἑλάυνομεν.  }

Χ. Τότε μὲν ὁν ἀνεπαύσοντο πάντες, ἔπιξοντες εἰς τὴν υστεραίαν ναυμαχίσειν. ὁ δὲ Δύσανδρος ἅλλα μὲν διενοεῖτο, προσέτατε δὲ ναύταις καὶ κυβερνήταις, ὡς ἀγώνος ἀμα ἡμέρα γενησομένου, περὶ ὀρθον ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήμεις καὶ καθέξι εσθαὶ κόσμῳ καὶ σιωπῇ, δεχομένου τὸ παραγγελλόμενον, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐν τάξει 2 παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἰσχυρὰς. ἀνύσχοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μετωπηδὸν ἀπάσαις ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ προκαλομένων, ἀντιπρόρους

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strength of his fleet, with the mien of one who sailed where he pleased and was master of the sea. But on learning that the Athenians were pursuing him, he fled by another route through the islands to Asia.

Finding the Hellespont unguarded, he himself attacked Lampsacus from the sea with his ships, while Thorax, co-operating with the land forces, assaulted the walls. He took the city by storm, and gave it up to his soldiers to plunder.\(^1\) Meanwhile the Athenian fleet of a hundred and eighty triremes had just arrived at Elaeus in the Chersonese, and learning that Lampsacus had fallen, they straightway put in at Sestos. There they took in provisions, and then sailed along to Aegospotami, over against their enemies, who were still in station at Lampsacus. The Athenians were under the command of several generals, among whom was Philocles, the man who had recently persuaded the people to pass a decree that their prisoners of war should have the right thumb cut off, that they might not be able to wield a spear, though they might ply an oar.\(^2\)

X. For the time being, then, all rested, expecting that on the morrow the fleets would engage. But Lysander was planning otherwise, and ordered his seamen and pilots, as though there would be a struggle at daybreak, to go on board their triremes in the early morning, and take their seats in order and in silence, awaiting the word of command, and that the land forces also, in the same manner, remain quietly in their ranks by the sea. When the sun rose, however, and the Athenians sailed up with all their ships in line and challenged to battle, although

\(^1\) Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1, 18 f. \(^2\) See the note on xiii. 1.
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ἐξών τάς ναύς καὶ πεπληρωμένας ἔτι νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀνήγετο, πέμπτων δὲ ὑπηρετικὰ παρὰ τάς πρώτας τῶν νεών ἀτρεμεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ μένειν ἐν τάξει μὴ 3 θορυβουμένους μηδ’ ἀντεκπλέοντας. οὕτω δὲ περὶ δείλην ἀποπλεόντων ὁπίσω τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ πρότερον ἐκ τῶν νεών τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀφῆκεν, εἰ μὴ δύο καὶ τρεῖς τρήρεις, διὸ ἐπέμψε κατασκόπους, ἔλθειν ἰδόντας ἀποβεβηκότας τοὺς πολεμίους. τῇ δ’ ὑστεράδι πάλιν ἐγίνοντο ταῦτα καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ μέχρι τετάρτης, ὡστε πολὺ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις θράσος ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ καταφρόνησιν ὡς δεδιότων καὶ συνεσταλμένων τῶν πολεμίων.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ περὶ Χερρώνησιν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τείχεσι διαιτῶμενος) ἥπερ προσελάσας πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦτιάτο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς πρῶτον μὲν οὐ καλῶς οὖδ’ ἁσφαλῶς στρατοπεδεύειν ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς δυσόρμοις καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις. ἐπειτα πόρρωθεν ἐκ Σηστοῦ τὰ ἐπιτίθεσια λαμβάνοντας ἀμαρτάνειν, 5 δέον εἰς λιμένα καὶ πόλιν Σηστοῦ δὲ ὁλίγου περιπλεύσαντας, ἀποτέρω γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐφορμούντων στρατεύματι μοναρχομένως καὶ πάντα πρὸς φόβον ὃξεος ἀπὸ συνθήματος ὑπηρετοῦντι. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντος οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, Τυδεὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὑβριν ἀπεκρίνατο, φήσας οὐκ ἐκείνων, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρους στρατηγεῖν.

XI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑποπτεύσας τι καὶ προδοσίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπηλλάττετο. πέμπτη 256
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he had his ships drawn up in line to meet them and fully manned before it was light, he did not put out from his position, but sending despatch-boats to the foremost of his ships, ordered them to keep quiet and remain in line, not getting into confusion nor sailing out to meet the enemy. And so towards evening, when the Athenians sailed back, he did not allow his men to leave their ships until two or three triremes, which he sent to reconnoitre, came back, after seeing that the enemy had disembarked. On the following day this was done again, and on the third, and at last on the fourth, so that the Athenians became very bold and contemptuous, believing that their enemies were huddling together in fear.

At this juncture, Alcibiades, who was living in his own fortress on the Chersonese, rode up to the Athenian army and censured the generals, first, for having pitched their camp in a bad and even dangerous place on an open beach where there was no roadstead; and second, for the mistake of getting their provisions from distant Sestos, when they ought to sail round the coast a little way to the harbour and city of Sestos, where they would be at a longer remove from their enemies, who lay watching them with an army commanded by a single man, the fear of whom led it to obey his every order promptly. These were the lessons he gave them, but they would not receive them, and Tydeus actually gave him an insolent answer, saying that he was not general now, but others.¹

XI. Alcibiades, accordingly, suspecting that some treachery was afoot among them, went away. But

¹ Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 20–26; Plutarch, Alcibiades, xxxvi. 4–xxxvii. 1.
δὲ ἡμέρα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιησαμένων τὸν ἐπίπλουν καὶ πάλιν ἀπερχομένων, ὦστε περ εἰώθεσαν, ὀλιγώρως πάνυ καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ο Ἀλυσιάρδος ἐκπέμπων τὰς κατασκόπους ναίς ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τριήραρχους, ὅταν ἰδοὺ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκβεβηκότας, ἐλαίνειν ἀποστρέψαντας ὁπίσω τάχει παντί, καὶ γενομένους κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον ἀστιδὰ χαλκὴν ἐπάρασθαι προφαθέν ἐπίπλουν

2 σύμβολον. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ τριήριαρχους ἐπιπλέων ἀνέκαλεῖτο καὶ παρώμα συνέχειν ἐκαστὸν ἐν τάξει τὸ πλήρωμα καὶ τοὺς ναύτας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, ὅταν δὲ σημανθῇ, μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ ρώμης ἐλαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὅσι δὲ ἦν τε ἄσπις ἀπὸ τῶν νεὼν ἢρθη καὶ τῇ σάλπυγιᾳ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἐσήμαινεν ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος, ἐπέπλευον μὲν αἱ νῆσες, ἡμιλλώντο δὲ

3 οἱ πεζοὶ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπείρων διάστημα ταύτη πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἐστὶ, καὶ ταχέως ὅπε στουνδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τῶν ἐλαυνόντων συνήρητο. Κόνων δὲ πρῶτος ο τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἰδὼν ἐπιπλέοντα τῶν στόλων ἐξαιρισθῆναι ἀνεβήσεν ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ περιπαθῶν τῷ κακῷ τούτῳ μὲν ἐκάλει, τῶν δὲ ἔδειτο, τοὺς δὲ ἴμαγκαζε πληροῦν

4 τὰς τριήρεις. ἣν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐργον αὐτοῦ τῆς στουνδῆς ἔσκεδασμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὥσ γὰρ ἐξέβησαν, εὐθὺς, ἀτε μηδὲν προσδοκῶντες, ἡγόραζεν, ἐπιλανόντο περὶ τὴν χώραν, ἐκάθεντον ὑπὸ ταῖς σκηναῖς, ἡμιστοποιοῦντο, πορρωτάτω τοῦ μέλλοντος τῶν ἀπερίτα τῶν ἡγουμένων ὄντες. ἦδη δὲ κραυγῆ καὶ ὅθεν προσφερομένων τῶν πολεμίων ὃ μὲν
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on the fifth day, when the Athenians had sailed over to the enemy and back again, as was now their wont, very carelessly and contumuously, Lysander, as he sent out his reconnoitring ships, ordered their commanders, as soon as they saw that the Athenians had disembarked, to put about and row back with all speed, and when they were half way across, to hoist a brazen shield at the prow, as a signal for the onset. And he himself sailed round and earnestly exhorted the pilots and trierarchs to keep all their crews at their post, sailors and soldiers alike, and as soon as the signal was given, to row with ardour and vigour against the enemy. When, therefore, the shield was hoisted on the lookout ships, and the trumpet on the admiral’s ship signalled the attack, the ships sailed forth, and the land forces ran their fastest along the shore to seize the promontory. The distance between the two continents at this point is fifteen furlongs, and such was the zealous ardour of the rowers that it was quickly consumed. Conon, the Athenian general, who was the first to see from the land the onset of the fleet, suddenly shouted orders to embark, and deeply stirred by the threatening disaster, called upon some, besought others, and forced others still to man the triremes. But his eager efforts were of no avail, since the men were scattered. For just as soon as they had disembarked, since they expected no trouble, some went to market, some walked about the country, some lay down to sleep in their tents, and some began to get their suppers ready, being as far as possible removed from any thought of what was to happen, through the inexperience of their commanders. The shouts and splashing oars of the oncoming enemy were already
Κόνων ὁκτὼ ναυσίν ὑπεξέπλευσε καὶ διαφυγὼν ἀπεπέρασεν εἰς Κύπρον πρὸς Εὐαγόραν, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἑπιτεσόντες οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τὰς μὲν κενὰς παντάπασιν ἤρων, τὰς δὲ ἐτὶ πληρομένας ἔκοπτον. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωποὶ πρὸς τε ταῖς ναυσίν ἀπέθυμσκοι ἀνοπλοὶ καὶ σποράδες ἐπιβοσθοῦντες, ἐν τῇ γῇ φεύγοντες ἀποβάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἑκτείνοντο. λαμβάνει δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τρισχίλιοις ἀνδρας αἰχμαλώτους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀπαν δὲ τὸ ναῦσταθμὸν ἄνευ τῆς Παράλου καὶ τῶν μετὰ Κόνωνος ἐκφυγοῦσών. ἀναδησάμενος δὲ τὰς ναύς καὶ διαπορθήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ αὐλοῦ καὶ παιάνων ἀνέπλευσεν εἰς Λάμψακον, ἔργον ἐλαχίστῳ πόνῳ μέγιστον ἐξειργασμένος, καὶ συνηρηκός ὡρὰ μιᾷ χρόνῳ μήκιστον καὶ ποικιλῶτατον πάθεσι τε καὶ τύχαις ἀπιστότατον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων, δς μνημίας μορφὰς ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων μεταβολὰς ἀμείνας, καὶ στρατηγοῦς ὅσους οὕδε οἱ σύμπαντες οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναλώσας, ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐβουλία καὶ δεινότητι συνήρητο; διὸ καὶ θείον τῖνες ἡγήσαντο τούτο τὸ ἔργον.

XII. Ἡσαν δὲ τινὲς οἱ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐπὶ τῆς Λυσανδροῦ νεῶς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅτε τοῦ λιμένος ἐξέπλευ πρώτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀστρα τοῖς οἰαξίν ἐπιλάμψαι λέγοντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ λέθου πτῶσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τούτῳ σημείων φασι
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heard, when Conon, with eight ships, sailed stealthily away, and making his escape, proceeded to Cyprus, to Évagoras; but the Peloponnesians fell upon the rest of the ships, some of which they took entirely empty, and others they disabled while their crews were still getting aboard. And the men, coming up unarmed and in straggling fashion, perished at their ships, or if they fled by land, their enemies, who had disembarked, slew them. Lysander took three thousand men prisoners, together with their generals, and captured the whole fleet, excepting the Paralus 1 and the ships that had made their escape with Conon. So after plundering his enemy’s camp and taking their ships in tow, he sailed back to Lampsacus, to the sound of pipes and hymns of victory. He had wrought a work of the greatest magnitude with the least toil and effort, and had brought to a close in a single hour a war which, in length, and the incredible variety of its incidents and fortunes, surpassed all its predecessors. Its struggles and issues had assumed ten thousand changing shapes, and it had cost Hellas more generals than all her previous wars together, and yet it was brought to a close by the prudence and ability of one man. Therefore some actually thought the result due to divine intervention.

XII. There were some who declared that the Dioscuri 2 appeared as twin stars on either side of Lysander’s ship just as he was sailing out of the harbour against the enemy, and shone out over the rudder-sweeps. And some say also that the falling of the stone was a portent of this disaster; for ac-

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1 One of the sacred state-galleys. It now carried the news of the disaster to Athens (Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 28).
2 Castor and Pollux.
γενέσθαι κατηνέχθη γάρ, ώσ ἡ δόξα τῶν πολλῶν, εἴς οὐρανοῦ παμμεγέθης λίθος εἰς Αἰγος ποταμοῦς. 2 καὶ δείκνυται μὲν ἐτί νῦν, σεβομένων αὐτὸν τῶν Χερρονησιτῶν λέγεται δὲ Ἀναξαγόραν προεπείν ὡς τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐνδεδεμένων σωμάτων, γενομένου τινὸς ὠλισθήματος ἢ σάλου, ρήψις ἔσται καὶ πτώσις ἐνὸς ἀπορραγέντος. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀστρων ἐκαστον οὐκ ἐν ἡ πέφυκε χώρᾳ λιθόδη γάρ ὄντα καὶ βαρέα λάμπειν μὲν ἀντερείσει καὶ περικλάσει τοῦ αἰθέρος, ἐλκεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ βίας σφυγγόμενα δίνη καὶ τὸν ω τῆς περιφορᾶς, ὡς που καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκρατήθη μὴ πεσεῖν δεύρο, τῶν ψυχρῶν καὶ βαρέων ἀποκρινομένων τοῦ παντός.

3 Ἔστι δὲ τὸς πιθανωτέρα δόξα ταύτης, εἰρηκότων ἐνίων ὡς οἱ διάττοντες ἀστέρες οὐρανοῦ βύσις εἰςίν οὐδὲ ἐπινέμησις αἰθέριον πυρὸς ἐν ἀέρι κατασβενυμένου περὶ τὴν ἔξαψιν αὐτήν, οὐδὲ ἀέρος εἰς τὴν ἀνω χώραν πλήθει νυθέντος ἐκπρήσις καὶ ἀνάφλεξις, ρήψις δὲ καὶ πτώσις ὑπάνων σωμάτων οἴον ἐνδόσει τινὶ τόνω καὶ περιτρόπον ἑκταλῶν φερομένων οὐ πρὸς τὸν οἰκομένου τόπου τῆς γῆς, ἄλλα τῶν πλεῖστων ἑκτὸς εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκπληττόντων θάλατταν, διὸ καὶ λανθάνουσι.

4 Τῷ δ᾽ Ἀναξαγόρα μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Δαίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εὐσεβείας, ἵστορον ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν τὸν λίθον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε συνεχῶς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐωράτο πύρινον σῶμα

1 peritropou the correction of Coraës: παρατρόπου (unusual). 262
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cording to the common belief, a stone of vast size had fallen from heaven at Aegospotami,¹ and it is shown to this day by the dwellers in the Chersonese, who hold it in reverence. Anaxagoras is said to have predicted that if the heavenly bodies should be loosened by some slip or shake, one of them might be torn away, and might plunge and fall down to earth; and he said that none of the stars was in its original position; for being of stone, and heavy, their shining light is caused by friction with the revolving aether, and they are forced along in fixed orbits by the whirling impulse which gave them their circular motion, and this was what prevented them from falling to our earth in the first place, when cold and heavy bodies were separated from universal matter.

But there is a more plausible opinion than this, and its advocates hold that shooting stars are not a flow or emanation of aetherial fire, which the lower air quenches at the very moment of its kindling, nor are they an ignition and blazing up of a quantity of lower air which has made its escape into the upper regions; but they are plunging and falling heavenly bodies, carried out of their course by some relaxation in the tension of their circular motion, and falling, not upon the inhabited region of the earth, but for the most part outside of it and into the great sea; and this is the reason why they are not noticed.

But Dæmochus, in his treatise "On Religion," supports the view of Anaxagoras. He says that before the stone fell, for seventy-five days continually, there was seen in the heavens a fiery body of

¹ In 468-7 B.C., according to the Parian marble (ep. 57) and Pliny, N. H. ii. 149 f.
pammetheis, osteper nepos phologyeidhes, ou scholazou, alla poluplokous kal kkeklasmenas foras feromeun, oste upo sallon kal plahis apporpphynuta meva puroeidhe stasmathe feresethai pollaxou kal astraptein, osteper oi diatptontes asteres.

5 etel de entauata thei geis ebriose kal pauvamenoi fobou kal thambous oi epichwroi senvlhun, otheta puros men ouden erhun ouv ichnos tosouto,1 lithos de keimenos, allwos men megas, outhen de meros, ws eisphein, ekeinhs thei puroeidous perioxis exoun.

440 sti men ouv eunyomianon o Demachos akrostaton
6 deita dhllos estin eiv de alltheis o logos, eixelevche kata kratos tovs faskontas ek tinos akroweias appokopeisan pnevmasi kai xalais petran, upolefthsan ou osteper oi strabholoi, kal ferepmenein, h praton evodeke kai dieuvthe to peridinhsan,

7 ekrifhainai kai pesein. eiv mva yia Dia pur men h anwos to faivomeunon eti pollas hemaras, svestis de kal phora metabolein aeri parasechen eis pneuma biaiotera kai kivnhsen, ufr ouv sunevtuche kai ton lithon ekrifhainai. tauta men ouv eteiv geves graphis diakribwteon.

XIII. O de Lyseandros, etei ton trischiwv 'Atheiavon, ouz elabein aixmalotous, upo ton symedron thantas katgenosto, kalasas Filokleia ton strathten auton horhtesei tina timatai dikhe evnto toiauta peri 'Ellhnon sumbessou-

1 tosouto Coraes and Bekker adopt Reiske's correction to tosoouto.

1 See chapter ix. 5. According to Xenophon (Hell. ii. 1, 31 f.), however, the Athenians had passed a decree that, if victorious in the sea-fight, they would cut off the right hand

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vast size, as if it had been a flaming cloud, not resting in one place, but moving along with intricate and irregular motions, so that fiery fragments, broken from it by its plunging and erratic course, were carried in all directions and flashed fire, just as shooting stars do. But when it had fallen in that part of the earth, and the inhabitants, after recovering from their fear and amazement, were assembled about it, no action of fire was seen, nor even so much as a trace thereof, but a stone lying there, of large size, it is true, but one which bore almost no proportion at all to the fiery mass seen in the heavens. Well, then, that Daïmachus must needs have indulgent readers, is clear; but if his story is true, he refutes utterly those who affirm that a rock, which winds and tempests had torn from some mountain top, was caught up and borne along like a spinning top, and that at the point where the whirling impetus given to it first relaxed and ceased, there it plunged and fell. Unless, indeed, what was seen in the heavens for many days was really fire, the quenching and extinction of which produced a change in the air resulting in unusually violent winds and agitations, and these brought about the plunge of the stone. However, the minute discussion of this subject belongs to another kind of writing.

XIII. Lysander, after the three thousand Athenians whom he had taken prisoners had been condemned to death by the special council of allies, calling Philocles, their general, asked him what punishment he thought should be visited upon him for having given his fellow-citizens such counsel regarding Greeks.¹ of every prisoner; and the crime of Philocles was that he had ordered the crews of two captured triremes to be thrown over a precipice.
2 λευκῶς τοῖς πολίταισι. ὁ δὲ οὔδεν τι πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν ἐνδοὺς ἐκέλευσε. μὴ κατηγορεῖν δὲν οὔδείς ἐστι δικαστήσει, ἀλλὰ νικώντα πράττειν ἀπερ ἄν νικηθεῖς ἐπασχεῖν. εἶτα λουσάμενος καὶ λαβὼν χλανίδα λαμπρὰν πρῶτος ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἤγειτο τοῖς πολίταισι, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Θέοφραστος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πλέων ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπὶ τᾶς πόλεις Ἀθηναίων μέν όις ἐπιτύχοι ἐκέλευσε πάντας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπιέναι. φείσεσθαι γάρ οὔδενός, ἀλλ' ἀποσφάξειν ὅν ἄν ἔξω λάβῃ τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτα δ' ἐπραττε καὶ συνήλαυνεν ἀπαντας εἰς τὸ ἀστυ βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταχὺ λιμὸν ἵσχυρον γενέσθαι καὶ σπάνιν, ὅπως μὴ πράγματα παράσχοιεν αὐτῷ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἑπόρως ὑπομένοντες. καταλύων δὲ τοὺς δήμους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, ἑνα μὲν ἄρμοστὶν ἐκάστη Δακεδαίμονιν κατέλιπε, δέκα δὲ ἄρχοντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγκεκροτημένων καὶ ταῦτα πράττων ὁμοίως ἐν τε ταῖς πολεμίαις καὶ ταῖς συμμάχοις γεγενημέναις πόλεσι, παρέπλει σχολαίως, τρόπον τινὰ κατασκευαζόμενος ἑαυτῷ τὴν τής Ἐλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν. οὕτε γὰρ ἀριστίνθην οὔτε πλουτίνθην ἀπεδείκνυε τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλ' ἐταιρείαις καὶ ξενίαις χαριζόμενος τὰ πράγματα καὶ κυρίους ποιῶν τιμῆς τε καὶ κολάσεως, πολλαῖς δὲ παραγινόμενοι αὐτὸς σφαγαίς καὶ συνεκβάλλοντος τοὺς τῶν φίλων ἔχθροις, οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς ἐδίδου τοῖς "Ελλησὶ δείγμα τῆς Δακεδαίμονιν ἄρχης."
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But he, not one whit softened by his misfortunes, bade him not play the prosecutor in a case where there was no judge, but to inflict, as victor, the punishment he would have suffered if vanquished. Then, after bathing and putting on a rich robe, he went first to the slaughter and showed his countrymen the way, as Theophrastus writes. After this, Lysander sailed to the various cities, and ordered all the Athenians whom he met to go back to Athens, for he would spare none, he said, but would slaughter any whom he caught outside the city. He took this course, and drove them all into the city together, because he wished that scarcity of food and a mighty famine should speedily afflict the city, in order that they might not hinder him by holding out against his siege with plenty of provisions. He also suppressed the democratic, and the other forms of government, and left one Lacedaemonian harmost in each city, and ten rulers chosen from the political clubs which he had organized throughout the cities. This he did alike in the cities which had been hostile, and in those which had become his allies, and sailed along in leisurely fashion, in a manner establishing for himself the supremacy over Hellas. For in his appointments of the rulers he had regard neither to birth nor wealth, but put control of affairs into the hands of his comrades and partisans, and made them masters of rewards and punishments. He also took part himself in many massacres, and assisted in driving out the enemies of his friends. Thus he gave the Greeks no worthy specimen of Lacedaemonian rule, nay,

1 The specific name for the governor whom the Lacedaemonians sent out to the islands and cities of Greece during their supremacy.
ΠΛΥΤΩΡΧΑΣ ΛΙΒΕΤΕΥΣ

5 ἂλλα καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς Θεόπομπος ἑοικε ληρεῖν ἀπεικάξων τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ταῖς κατηλήσεις, ὥστε τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἥδιστον ποτὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας γεύσαντες ὁξὺς ἐνέχεαν· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἤν τὸ γεῦμα δυσχερὲς καὶ πικρὸν, οὐτε τοὺς δῆμους κυρίους τῶν πραγμάτων ἐώς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀλίγων τοῖς ὑπεντάτοις καὶ φιλονεικοτάτοις τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρίζοντος.

XIV. Διατρήψας δὲ περὶ ταῦτα χρόνον οὐ πολίν, καὶ προσέμψας εἰς Δακεδαίμονα τοὺς ἀπαγγέλαντάς ὅτι προσπλεῖ μετὰ νεών διακοσίων, συνέμεξε περὶ Ἀττικήν Ἀγιδα καὶ Παυσανία τοῖς βασιλέεσιν ὅσο ταχὺ συναιρήσων τὴν πόλιν. ἔπει δὲ ἀντεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, λαβὼν τὰς ναὶς πάλιν εἰς Ἀσίαν διεσέρασι· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων ὁμαλῶς ἀπασῶν κατέλυε τὰς πολιτείας καὶ καθιστῆξαν δεκαδαρχίας, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν ἐκάστη σφαττόμενον, πολλῶν δὲ φεγγόντων, Σαμῖους δὲ πάντας ἐκβαλὼν παρέδωκε τοῖς φυγασί τὰς πόλεις.

2 Σηστὸν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἑχόντων ἀφελόμενος οὐκ εἶσεν οἰκεῖν Σηστίους, ἄλλα τοῖς γενομένοις ὡς αὐτῷ κυβερνήταις καὶ κελευσταῖς ἔδωκε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν νέμεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἀντέκρουσαν οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι καὶ τοὺς Σηστίους 3 αὕτης ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν κατήγαγον. ἄλλην έκεινα γε τοῦ Δυσάνδρου πάντες ἢδεως ἐώρων οἱ Ἐλληνες, 441 Αἰγινῆτας τε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν

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even the comic poet Theopompus was thought absurd in likening the Lacedaemonians to tavern-women, because they gave the Greeks a very pleasant sip of freedom, and then dashed the wine with vinegar; for from the very first the taste was harsh and bitter, since Lysander not only would not suffer the people to be masters of their affairs, but actually put the cities into the hands of the boldest and most contentious of the oligarchs.

XIV. After he had spent some little time in this business, and had sent messengers to Lacedaemon to report that he was sailing up with two hundred ships, he made a junction in Attica with the forces of Agis and Pausanias, the kings, believing that he would speedily capture the city. But since the Athenians held out against them, he took his ships and crossed again to Asia. Here he suppressed the governments of all the remaining cities in like manner, and set up decadarchies, many citizens being slain in each city, and many banished; he also drove out all the Samians, and handed their cities over to the men whom they had banished. Moreover, when he had taken Sestos out of the hands of the Athenians, he would not permit the Sestians to dwell there, but gave the city and its territory to be divided among men who had been pilots and boatswains under him. And this was the first step of his which was resisted by the Lacedaemonians, who restored the Sestians again to their country. But there were other measures of Lysander upon which all the Greeks looked with pleasure, when, for instance, the Aeginetans, after a long time,

2 This was after the fall of Athens (Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 6 f.).
3 They had been expelled by the Athenians in 431 B.C.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἀπολαμβάνοντας καὶ Μηλίους καὶ Σκιωνάιους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συνοικιζόμενους, ἐξελαυνομένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδιδόντων.

'Ἡδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀστεί κακῶς ἔχειν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πυθανόμενος κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιὰ καὶ παρεστήσατο τὴν πόλιν, ἀναγκασθείσαν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔκέλευεν ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις.

4 καίτοι Δακεδαιμονίων ἐστίν ἀκούσαι λεγόντων ὡς Δύσανδρος μὲν ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις τάδε: “Ἀλώ-
καντι ταὶ Ἀθάναι,” Δυσάνδρφ δ’ ἀντέγραψαν οἱ ἐφόροι: “Ἀρκεῖ τὸ γε ἐαλώκειν.” ἀλλ’
eὐπρεπείας χάριν οὗτος ὁ λόγος πέπλασται. 
tὸ δ’ ἀληθινὸν δόγμα τῶν ἐφόρων οὗτος εἶχε: 
“Τάδε τὰ τέλη τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἔγνω καβζ-
βαλόντες τὸν Πειραιὰ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη, 
καὶ ἐκβάντες ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τῶν αὐτῶν 
γὰρ ἔχουτε, ταὐτὰ καὶ δρόων, ταῦτα ἐράναν 
ἔχουτε, αἱ χρήσοτε, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἀνέντες.

5 περὶ τῶν ναῶν τὸ πλήθεος, ὁκοίον τί καὶ τηρεῖ 
dοκέει, ταῦτα ποιέετε.” ταύτην δὲ προσεδέξαντο 
tὴν σκυτάλην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἐθραμένους τοῦ 
‟Αγνωνος συμβουλεύσαντος· ὅτε καὶ φασιν ὑπὸ 
tῶν νέων τινὸς δημαγωγῶν Κλεομένους ἐρωτο-
μενον εἰ τολμᾶ τάναντια Θεμιστοκλεῖ πρᾶττειν 
καὶ λέγειν, παραδιδοὺς τὰ τείχῃ τοῖς Δακεδαι-
μονίσι, ὁ Δακεδαιμονίων ἀκόντων ἐκείνος ἄν-

6 ἐστησεν, εἰπεῖν: “Ἀλλ’ οὕδεν, ὁ μειράκιον, ὑπε-
ναντίον ἐγὼ πράττω Θεμιστοκλεῖ· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ 
τείχῃ κάκεινος ἔπει σωτηρία τῶν πολιτῶν ἄν· 

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cieved back their own city, and when the Melians and Scionaeans were restored to their homes by him, after the Athenians had been driven out and had delivered back the cities.

And now, when he learned that the people of Athens were in a wretched plight from famine, he sailed into the Piraeus, and reduced the city, which was compelled to make terms on the basis of his commands. It is true one hears it said by Lacedaemonians that Lysander wrote to the ephors thus: "Athens is taken"; and that the ephors wrote back to Lysander: "‘Taken’ were enough”; but this story was invented for its neatness’ sake. The actual decree of the ephors ran thus: "This is what the Lacedaemonian authorities have decided: tear down the Piraeus and the long walls; quit all the cities and keep to your own land; if you do these things, and restore your exiles, you shall have peace, if you want it. As regards the number of your ships, whatsoever shall be decided there, this do." This edict was accepted by the Athenians, on the advice of Theramenes the son of Hagnon, who, they say, being asked at this time by Cleomenes, one of the young orators, if he dared to act and speak the contrary to Themistocles, by surrendering those walls to the Lacedaemonians which that statesman had erected in defiance of the Lacedaemonians, replied: "But I am doing nothing, young man, that is contrary to Themistocles; for the same walls which he erected

1 The island and city of Melos were captured and depopulated by the Athenians in the winter of 416–415 B.C.

2 The city of Scionè, on the Chalcidic peninsula, was captured and depopulated by the Athenians in 421 B.C.

3 To illustrate the Spartan passion for brevity of speech.

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἐστησε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ σωτηρία καταβαλούμεν. εἰ δὲ τὰ τείχη τὰς πόλεις εὐθαίμονας ἔποίει, πασῶν ἔδει πράττειν κάκιστα τὴν Σπάρτην ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν.

XV. Ὅ δ’ οὖν Λύσανδρος, ὡς παρέλαβε τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπάσας πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτη Μουνυχιῶν μηνός, ἐν ἦ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμίνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων τὸν βάρβαρον, ἐβούλευσεν εὐθὺς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν 2 μεταστῆσαι. δυσπεθῶς δὲ καὶ τραχέως φερόντων, ἀποστείλας πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἑφη τὴν πόλιν εἰληφέναι παραποιοῦσαν· ἔστάναι γὰρ τὰ τείχη τῶν ἠμερῶν ἐν αἷς ἔδει καθηρῆσαι παροχιμένων. ἔτεραν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσήκειν γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς τὰς ὀμολογίας λειτυκότων. ἐνοι δὲ καὶ προτεθηκὰν φασιν ὡς ἄληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Ἀθηβαίον Ἐρίανθον εἰσηγήσασθαι τὸ μὲν ἀστυ κατασκάψας, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀνείναι 3 μηλόβοτον. εἶτα μέντοι συνοισίας γευμένης τῶν ἱγμόνων παρὰ πότον, καὶ τινὸς Φωκέως ἄσαντος ἐκ τῆς Ἕλεκτρας τὴν πάροδον ἦς ἡ ἀρχή.

'Αγαμέμμονος δ’ κόρα, ἦλυθον, Ἕλεκτρα, ποτὲ σὰν ἄγροτειρὰν αὐλάν, πάντας ἐπικλασθῆναι, καὶ φανῆναι σχέτλιον ἔργον τὴν οὔτως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ τοιοῦτος ἄνδρας φέρουσαν ἀνελεῖν καὶ διεργάσασθαι πόλιν.

4 'Ο δ’ οὖν Λύσανδρος ἐυδόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων

1 para πότον καὶ Bekker follows Coraës in transposing to καὶ para πότον.

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for the safety of the citizens, we shall tear down for their safety. And if walls made cities prosperous, then Sparta must be in the worst plight of all, since she has none."

XV. Lysander, accordingly, when he had taken possession of all the ships of the Athenians except twelve, and of their walls, on the sixteenth day of the month Munychion, the same on which they conquered the Barbarian in the sea-fight at Salamis, took measures at once to change their form of government. And when the Athenians opposed him bitterly in this, he sent word to the people that he had caught the city violating the terms of its surrender; for its walls were still standing, although the days were past within which they should have been pulled down; he should therefore present their case anew for the decision of the authorities, since they had broken their agreements. And some say that in very truth a proposition to sell the Athenians into slavery was actually made in the assembly of the allies, and that at this time Erianthus the Theban also made a motion that the city be razed to the ground, and the country about it left for sheep to graze. Afterwards, however, when the leaders were gathered at a banquet, and a certain Phocian sang the first chorus in the "Electra" of Euripides,¹ which begins with

"O thou daughter of Agamemnon,
I am come, Electra, to thy rustic court,"

all were moved to compassion, and felt it to be a cruel deed to abolish and destroy a city which was so famous, and produced such poets.

So then, after the Athenians had yielded in all

¹ Verses 167 f. (Kirchhoff).
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πρὸς ἄπαντα, πολλὰς μὲν ἔξι ἀστεοὺς μεταπεμψάμενος αὐλητρίδας, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συναγαγὼν, τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτε καὶ τὰς τριήρεις κατέφλεγε πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν, ἐστεφανώμενοι καὶ παιζόντων ἀμα τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἐκεῖνη τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρχουσαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας. 5 εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκίνησε, τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιαῖ καταστήσας ἄρχουσας, ἐμβαλὼν δὲ φροντὶ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν, ἄνδρα Ἑπαρηντήν, ἐπιστήσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος Ἀὐτόλυκον τὸν ἅθλητὴν, ἐφ' ὅ τὸ συμπόσιον ὁ Ἐννοφῶν πεποίηκε, τὴν βακτριανὰ διαράμενος παῦσειν ἔμελλεν, ὁ δὲ τῶν σκελῶν συναράμενον ἀνέτρεψεν αὐτὸν, οὐκ ὑπηγαγάκτησεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεπετίμησε,1 φήσας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι 442 ἐλευθέρων ἄρχειν. ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Αὐτόλυκον ὁ τριάκοντα τῷ Καλλίβιῳ χαριζόμενοι μικρὸν ύστερον ἄνειλον.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀπὸ τούτων γενόμενος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐξεπλεύσεις, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὰ περιόντα καὶ ὅσα δῷρας αὐτὸς ἡ στεφάνους ἐδέξατο, πολλῶν, ὡς εἰκός, διδόντων ἄνδρι δύνατονται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ κυρίω τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα διὰ Γυλίππου τοῦ στρατηγῆς αὐτὸς περὶ Σικελίαν. ὁ δὲ, ὡς λέγεται, τὰς ραφὰς τῶν ἀγγείων κάτωθεν

1 συνεπετίμησε Bekker adopts Reiske’s correction to ἐπετί-

1 Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 2, 23.
2 The scene of the “Symposium” is laid at the house of

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points, Lysander sent for many flute-girls from the city, and assembled all those who were already in the camp, and then tore down the walls, and burned up the triremes, to the sound of the flute, while the allies crowned themselves with garlands and made merry together, counting that day as the beginning of their freedom. Then, without delay, he also made changes in the form of government, establishing thirty rulers in the city and ten in Piraeus. Further, he put a garrison into the acropolis, and made Callibius, a Spartan, its harmost. He it was who once lifted his staff to smite Autolycus, the athlete, whom Xenophon makes the chief character in his "Symposium"; and when Autolycus seized him by the legs and threw him down, Lysander did not side with Callibius in his vexation, but actually joined in censuring him, saying that he did not understand how to govern freemen. But the Thirty, to gratify Callibius, soon afterwards put Autolycus to death.

XVI. Lysander, after settling these matters, sailed for Thrace himself, but what remained of the public moneys, together with all the gifts and crowns which he had himself received,—many people, as was natural, offering presents to a man who had the greatest power, and who was, in a manner, master of Hellas,—he sent off to Lacedaemon by Gylippus, who had held command in Sicily. But Gylippus, as it is said, ripped open the sacks at the bottom,

Callias, to which Autolycus and his father have been invited, together with Socrates and some of his friends.

As Spartan general sent out to aid the Syracusans, he had turned the success of the besieging Athenians into disaster. See the Nicias, chapters xviii. ff.

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Ἀναλύσας καὶ ἀφελῶν συχνῶν ἀργύριον ἐξ ἐκαστοῦ πάλιν συνερράθηκεν, ἀγνοήσας ὅτι γραμματίδιον ἐνήν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀρίθμων σημαίνον.

2 ἔλθον δὲ εἰς Ἐπάρτην ἀ μὲν υψηλὸτο κατέκρυψεν ὑπὸ τὸν κέραμον τῆς οἰκίας, τὰ δὲ ἀγγεία παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τὰς σφαγίδας ἐπέδειξεν. ἔπει δὲ ἀνοιξάντων καὶ ἀριθμοῦντων διεφώνει πρὸς τὰ γράμματα τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ παρεῖχε τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀπορίαν τὸ πράγμα, φράζει θεράπων τοῦ Γυληρίππου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνιδεξάμενος ὑπὸ τῷ κεραμκῷ κοιτάζεσθαι πολλὰς γλαύκας. ἦν γὰρ, ὡς ἑοικε, τὸ κάραγμα τοῦ πλείστου τὸτε νομίσματος διὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους γλαύκες.

XVII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Γυληρίππος αἰσχρὸν οὖτω καὶ ἀγεννῆς ἐργὼν ἐπὶ λαμπρῶς τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν καὶ μεγάλοις ἐργασάμενος μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος. οἱ δὲ φρονεμόντα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐχ ἠκύστα καὶ διὰ τούτο τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος ἵσχυν φοβηθέντες, ὡς οὐχὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἀποτομήν πολετῶν, τὸν τε Δύσανδρον ἐλοιδόρου καὶ διεμαρτύραντο τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀποδιοποπμεῖσθαι πάν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν ὠσπερ κήρας ἐπαγωγήμους. οἱ δὲ προύθεσαν γνώμην.

2 καὶ Θεόπομπος μὲν φησι Σκιραφίδαν, Ἔφορος δὲ Φλογίδαν εἶναι τὸν ἀποφημάμενον ὡς οὖ χρῆ προσδέχεσθαι νόμισμα χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι τῷ πατρίῳ. τούτῳ δὲ ἦν σιδηροῦν, πρῶτον μὲν δὲι καταβαπτόμενον ἐκ πυρός, ὅπως μὴ καταχαλκεύοιτο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν βαφὴν ἀστομοῦν καὶ ἀδιγνοεῖ γίνοιτο, ἐπειτα βαρύσταθμον καὶ δυσπαρακόμιστον καὶ
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and after taking a large amount of silver from each, sewed them up again, not knowing that there was a writing in each indicating the sum it held. And when he came to Sparta, he hid what he had stolen under the tiles of his house, but delivered the sacks to the ephors, and showed the seals upon them. When, however, the ephors opened the sacks and counted the money, its amount did not agree with the written lists, and the thing perplexed them, until a servant of Gyliippus made the truth known to them by his riddle of many owls sleeping under the tiling. For most of the coinage of the time, as it seems, bore the effigy of an owl, owing to the supremacy of Athens.

XVII. Gyliippus, then, after adding a deed so disgraceful and ignoble as this to his previous great and brilliant achievements, removed himself from Lace-daemon. And the wisest of the Spartans, being led by this instance in particular to fear the power of money, which they said was corrupting influential as well as ordinary citizens, reproached Lysander, and fervently besought the ephors to purify the city of all the silver and the gold, as imported curses. The ephors deliberated on the matter. And it was Sciraphidas, according to Theopompus, or Phlogidas, according to Ephorus, who declared that they ought not to receive gold and silver coinage into the city, but to use that of the country. Now this was of iron, and was dipped in vinegar as soon as it came from the fire, that it might not be worked over, but be made brittle and intractable by the dipping.¹ Besides, it was very heavy and troublesome

¹ Cf. Lycurgus, ix. 2.
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ἀπὸ πολλοὺ τινος πλήθους καὶ ὅγκον μικράν
3 τινα ἄξιαν δυνάμενον. κινδυνεύει δὲ καὶ τὸ
πάμπαν ἀρχαῖον οὕτως ἔχειν, ὅβελίσκοις χρω-
μένοις νομίσμασιν ἱδιὰ, ἐνίον ὅ ἀκραῖοι· ἄφ' ὁ
ἂν παραμένει πλήθος ἐτι καὶ νῦν τῶν κερμάτων
ὁβολοὺς καλεῖσθαι, δραχμῆν ὅ ὅβολον τοὺς ἀπὸ
tοσούτων γὰρ ἡ χειρ περιεδράττετο.

4 Τῶν δὲ Δυσάνδρου φίλων ὑπεναντιομένων
καὶ σπουδασάντων ἐν τῇ πόλει καταμεῖναι τὰ
χρήματα, δημοσία μὲν ἐδοξέων εἰσάγεσθαι νόμισμα
τοιοῦτον, ἀν δὲ τὰς ἀλῆς κεκτημένος ἱδιὰ, ἔτη
ἀριστὰς ἄνατον, ὡστερ τοῦ Δυκούργου τὸ
νόμοσμα φοβηθέντος, οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ νομίσματι
φιλαργυρίαν, ἢν οὐκ ἀφήρει τὸ μὴ κεκτήσθαι
τὸν ἰδιώτην, ὥς τὸ κεκτήσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐσε-
ποιεῖτο, τῆς χρείας ἄξιαν προσλαμβανοῦσας καὶ

5 ξίλον. οὐ γὰρ ἡ δημοσία τιμῶμεν ορῶντας
ἴδια καταφρονεῖν ὡς ἀχρήστον, καὶ πρὸς τὰ
οἰκεία νομίζειν ἐκάστῳ μηδενὸς ἄξιον πράγμα τὸ
κοινῆ οὕτως εὐδοκιμοῦν καὶ ἀγαπώμενον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πολλῆς τάχιοι ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων
ἐπιρρέουσιν οἱ ἔθεσμοι τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς βόης ἢ τὰ
καθ' ἐκαστον ὀλισθήματα καὶ πάθη τὰς πόλεις

6 ἀναπλήρωσι πραγμάτων ποιημένων. τῷ γὰρ ὅλῳ
συνδιαστρέφοντα τὰ μέρη μάλλον, ὅταν ἐνδὸ
πρὸς τὸ χείρον, εἰκός, αἱ ἀπὸ μέρους εἰς ὅλον
ἀμαρτία πολλὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ βοηθείας ἀπὸ
τῶν ὑγιαινόντων ἐχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ταῖς μὲν οἰκίαις
tῶν πολιτῶν, ὅπως οὐ πάρεισιν εἰς αὐτὰς νόμος-
μα, τὸν φόβον ἐπέστησαν φύλακα καὶ τῶν νόμον,

1 νομίσμασι Bekker corrects to νομίσματι.
2 εἰσεποιεῖτο Bekker adopts Corseè's correction to εἰσεποιεῖτο.

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to carry, and a great quantity and weight of it had but little value. Probably, too, all the ancient money was of this sort, some peoples using iron spits for coins, and some bronze; whence it comes that even to this day many small pieces of money retain the name of "oboli," or spits, and six "oboli" make a "drachma," or handful, since that was as many as the hand could grasp.

But since Lysander's friends opposed this measure, and insisted that the money remain in the city, it was resolved that money of this sort could be introduced for public use, but that if any private person should be found in possession of it, he should be punished with death; just as though Lycurgus had feared the coin, and not the covetousness which the coin produced. And this vice was not removed by allowing no private person to possess money, so much as it was encouraged by allowing the city to possess money, its use thereby acquiring dignity and honour. Surely it was not possible for those who saw money publicly honoured, to despise it privately as of no service; or to consider as worthless for the individual's private use that which was publicly held in such repute and esteem. Moreover, it takes far less time for public practices to affect the customs of private life, than it does for individual lapses and failings to corrupt entire cities. For it is natural that the parts should rather be perverted along with the whole, when that deteriorates; but the diseases which flow from a part into the whole find many correctives and aids in the parts which remain sound. And so these magistrates merely set the fear of the law to guard the houses of the citizens, that money might have no entrance there, but did not keep their
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αύτας δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεκπλήκτους καὶ ἀπαθείς πρὸς ἀργύριον οὐ διετήρησαν, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ζῆλον ὡς σεμνοῦ δὲ τινος καὶ μεγάλου τοῦ πλουτείν ἀπαντας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ δὲ ἔτερας που γραφῆς ἦψάμεθα Λακεδαιμονίων.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἔστησεν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτοῦ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τῶν νααρχῶν ἐκάστου καὶ χρυσοῦς ἀστέρας τῶν Διοσκούρων, οἳ πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἠφανίσθησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρασίδου καὶ Ἀκανθίων θησαυρῷ τριήρης ἕκειτο διὰ χρυσοῦ πετονημένη καὶ ἑλέφαντος δυνών πηχών, ἢν Κύρος αὐτῷ νικη-2 τήριου ἔπεμψεν. Ἅναξάνδριδης δὲ ὁ Δελφὸς ἱστορεῖ καὶ παρακαταθήκην ἐνταῦθα Λυσανδροῦ κείσθαι τάλαντον ἀργυρίου καὶ μνᾶς πεντήκοντα δύο καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνδεκα στατήρας, οἷς ὁμολογούμενα γράφων τοῖς περὶ τῆς πενίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁμολογομένους. τότε δ’ οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος ὅσον οὔδεὶς τῶν πρόσθεν Ἑλλήνων δυνηθεὶς ἐδόκει φρονήματι καὶ ὅγκῳ μείζονι κεχρήσθαι τῆς 3 δυνάμεως. πρώτω μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις, Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων βωμοὺς αἱ πόλεις ἀνέστησαν ὡς θεῶ καὶ θυσίας ἔθυσαν, εἰς πρώτων δὲ παιανεῖς ἔσθησαν, ὃν ἐνὸς ἄρχην ἀπομημονεύονσι τοιάνδε.

Τὸν Ἑλλάδος ἀγαθέας στραταγὸν ἀπ᾿ εὐρυχόρου
Σπάρτας ὑμνήσομεν, ὅ, ἵ Παιάν.

4 Σάμοι δὲ τὰ παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς Ἡραία Λυσανδρεία καλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν Χοιρίλου

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spirits undaunted by the power of money and in sensible to it; they rather inspired them all with an emulous desire for wealth as a great and noble object of pursuit. On this point, however, we have censured the Lacedaemonians in another treatise.¹

XVIII. Out of the spoils, Lysander set up at Delphi bronze statues of himself and each of his admirals, as well as golden stars of the Dioscuri, which disappeared before the battle of Leuctra.² And in the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians ³ there was stored a trireme two cubits long, made of gold and ivory, which Cyrus sent Lysander as a prize for his victory. Moreover, Anaxandrides the Delphian writes that a deposit of Lysander’s was also stored there, consisting of a talent of silver, and fifty-two minas, and eleven staters besides; a statement that is inconsistent with the generally accepted accounts of his poverty. At any rate, Lysander was at this time more powerful than any Greek before him had been, and was thought to cherish a pretentious pride that was greater even than his power. For he was the first Greek, as Duris writes, to whom the cities erected altars and made sacrifices as to a god, the first also to whom songs of triumph were sung. One of these is handed down, and begins as follows:

“The general of sacred Hellas
  who came from wide-spaced Sparta
  will we sing, O! io! Paean.”

The Samians, too, voted that their festival of Hera should be called Lysandreia. And the poet Choe-

¹ Inst. Lacon. 42 (Morals, p. 239 f.).
² An omen of the defeat of the Spartans in that battle (371 B.C.).
³ Cf. chapter i. 1.
μὲν ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐίχεν ὡς κοσμήσοντα τὰς πράξεις διὰ ποιητικῆς Ἀντιλόχῳ δὲ ποιήσαντι μετρίους τινὰς εἰς αὐτὸν στίχους ἥσθεις ἐδωκε πλήσας ἀργυρίου τὸν πῖλον. Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ Κολοφώνιου καὶ Νικηράτου τινὸς Ἡρακλέωτον ποιήμασι Δυσάνδρεια διαγωνισμένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νικηράτου ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἴψανε τὸ ποίημα. Πλάτων δὲ νέος ὃν τότε, καὶ θαυμάζων τὸν Ἀντίμαχον ἐπὶ τῇ ποιητικῇ, βαρέως φέροντα τὴν ἦτταν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, τοῖς ἀγνοούσι κακῶν εἶναι φάμενοι τὴν ἁγιολαβομον, ὡσπερ τὴν τυφλότητα τοῖς μὴ βλέπονσιν. ἔπει μὲντοι ὁ κιθαριός Ἀριστόνος ἐξάκις Πόθια νενικηκὼς ἐπηγγέλλετο τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ φιλοφρονούμενος, ἀν νικήσῃ πάλιν, Δυσάνδρου κηρύξειν έαυτὸν, "Ἡ δοῦλον," εἶπεν. XIX. Ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν φιλοτιμία τοῦ Δυσάνδρου τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ ἴσοτίμοις ἡν ἐπαχθής μόνοι. ὑπερψίας δὲ πολλῆς ἀμα τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ διὰ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἐγγενομένης τῷ ἢθει καὶ βαρύτητος, οὔτε τιμῆς οὔτε τιμωρίας μέτρον ἡν παρ' αὐτῷ δημοτικόν, ἀλλὰ φίλιας μὲν ἀθλα καὶ ξενίας ἀνυπεύθυνοι δυναστεῖα πόλεων καὶ τυραννίδες ἀνεξέταστοι, θυμοῦ δὲ μία πλήρωσις ἀπολέσθαι 2 τὸν ἀπεχθόμενον οὐδὲ γὰρ φυγεῖν ἔξην. ἀλλὰ καὶ Μιλησίων ὑστερον τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προϊσταμένους δεδιός μὴ φύγωσι, καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τοὺς κεκρυμμένους βουλόμενος, ἀμόσε μὴ ἀδικήσειν.
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rilesus was always kept in his retinue, to adorn his achievements with verse; while with Antilochus, who composed some verses in his honour, he was so pleased that he filled his cap with silver and gave it to him. And when Antimachus of Colophon and a certain Niceratus of Heracleia competed with one another at the Lysandreia in poems celebrating his achievements, he awarded the crown to Niceratus, and Antimachus, in vexation, suppressed his poem. But Plato, who was then a young man, and admired Antimachus for his poetry, tried to cheer and console him in his chagrin at this defeat, telling him that it is the ignorant who suffer from their ignorance, just as the blind do from their blindness. However, when Aristonous the harper, who had been six times victor at the Pythian games, told Lysander in a patronizing way that if he should be victorious again, he would have himself proclaimed under Lysander’s name, “That is,” Lysander replied, “as my slave?”

XIX. Now to the leading men, and to his equals, the ambition of Lysander was annoying merely. But since, owing to the court that was paid to him, great haughtiness and severity crept into his character along with his ambition, there was no such moderation as would become a popular leader either in his rewards or punishments, but the prizes he awarded to his friends and allies were irresponsible lordships over cities, and absolute sovereignties, while the sole punishment that could satisfy his wrath was the death of his enemy; not even exile was allowed. Nay, at a later time, fearing lest the active popular leaders of Miletus should go into exile, and desiring to bring from their retreats those also who were in hiding, he made oath that he would do them no
πιστεύοντας δὲ καὶ προεξόντας ἀποσφάξας
τοὺς ὀλυμπιακούς παρεδωκεν, γὰρ ἐλάττωνας
δικαστικὸν συναμφότεροι ὤντας. ἦν δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δημοτικῶν φόνος οὐκ
ἀριθμητός, ἀτε δὴ μὴ κατ’ ιδίας μόνον αἰτίας
αὐτοῦ κτείνοντος, ἄλλα πολλὰς μὲν ἕχθρας,
pολλὰς δὲ πλεονεξίας τῶν ἐκασταχόθι φίλων
χαρίζομένου τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ συνεργοῦντος. θεὶς
εὐδοκίμησεν Ἑσεύκλης ὁ Δακεδασσόνιος εἰπὼν ὡς
οὐκ ἃν ἢ Ἑλλας δύο Δυσάνδρους ἤγεθη. τὸ δὲ
αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδον φησὶ Θέο- 444
φραστος εἰπεῖν Ἀρχέστρατον. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ μὲν
νηρὶς ἢν καὶ τρυφή σὺν αὐθαδείᾳ τὸ μάλιστα
δυσχεραίνομεν τὴν δὲ Δυσάνδρου δύναμιν ἢ
tοῦ τρόπου χαλεπότης φοβερὰν ἐποίει καὶ
βαρεῖαν.

Οἱ δὲ Δακεδασσόνιοι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὐ πάνω
προσεῖχον ἐγκαλοῦσιν. ἔπει δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀδι-
κούμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ἄγοντος καὶ
φέροντος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρους,
ἀγανακτήσαντες οἱ ἐφοροὶ τῶν μὲν φίλων αὐτοῦ
καὶ συστρατηγῶν ἔνα Θώρακα λαβόντες ἀργύριον
ἰδία κεκτημένον ἀπέκτειναν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ σκυτάλη
ἐπεμψαν ἥκειν κελεύσαντες.

5 Ἡστὶ δὲ ἢ σκυτάλη τοιοῦτον. ἐπάν ἐκτέμ-
πωσὶ ναύαρχον ἢ στρατηγὸν οἰ ἐφοροὶ, ξύλα δύο
στρογγύλα μήκος καὶ πάχος ἄκριβῶς ἀπισώ-
παντες, ὡστε ταῖς τομαῖς ἐφαρμόζειν πρὸς ἄλληλα,
tο μὲν αὐτοὶ φυλάττουσι, θάτερον δὲ τῷ πεμπτο-
μένῳ διδόσαν. ταύτα δὲ τὰ ξύλα σκυτάλας
καλοῦσιν. ὅταν οὖν ἀπόρρητὸν τι καὶ μέγα
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harm; but when the first put faith in him and the second came forth, he delivered them all over to the oligarchs for slaughter, being no less than eight hundred of both classes. In the other cities also untold numbers of the popular party were slain, since he killed not only for his own private reasons, but also gratified by his murders the hatred and cupidity of his many friends everywhere, and shared the bloody work with them. Wherefore Eteocles the Lacedaemonian won great approval when he said that Hellas could not have borne two Lysanders. Now this same utterance was made by Archestratus concerning Alcibiades also,¹ as Theophrastus tells us. But in his case it was insolence, and wanton self-will, that gave most offence; whereas Lysander’s power was made dreadful and oppressive by the cruelty of his disposition.

The Lacedaemonians paid little heed to the rest of his accusers, but when Pharnabazus, who was outraged by Lysander’s pillaging and wasting his territory, sent men to Sparta to denounce him, the ephors were incensed, and when they found Thorax, one of Lysander’s friends and fellow-generals, with money in his private possession, they put him to death, and sent a dispatch-scroll to Lysander, ordering him home.

The dispatch-scroll is of the following character. When the ephors send out an admiral or a general, they make two round pieces of wood exactly alike in length and thickness, so that each corresponds to the other in its dimensions, and keep one themselves, while they give the other to their envoy. These pieces of wood they call “scytalae.” Whenever, then, they

¹ Cf. Alcibiades, xvi. 5.
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φράσαι βουληθῶσι, βιβλίον ὡσπερ ἰμάντα μακρὸν καὶ στενὸν ποιοῦντες περιελίττουσι τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς σκυτάλην, οὐδὲν διάλειμμα ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν κύκλῳ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτῆς τῷ βιβλίῳ καταλαμβάνοντες. τούτῳ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀν βούλονται καταγράφουσι εἰς τὸ βιβλίον, ὡσπερ ἐστὶ τῇ σκυτάλῃ περικείμενον· ὅταν δὲ γράψωσιν, ἀφελόντες τὸ βιβλίον ἀνευ τοῦ ξύλου πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλουσι.

7 δεξάμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀλλὰς μὲν οὐδὲν ἀναλέξασθαι δύναται τῶν γραμμάτων συναφῆς οὐκ ἔχοντων, ἀλλὰ διεσπαρμένων, τὴν δὲ παρ’ αὐτῷ σκυτάλην λαβὼν τὸ τμῆμα τοῦ βιβλίου περὶ αὐτῆς περιέτειν, ὡστε, τῆς ἐλικοῦνος εἰς τάξιν ὀμοίως ἀποκαθισταμένης, ἐπιβάλλοντα τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ δεύτερα, κύκλῳ τὴν ὑπὶ ἐπάγει τὸ συνεχὲς ἀνευρίσκουσαν. καλεῖται δὲ ὄμωνύμως τῷ ξύλῳ σκυτάλῃ τὸ βιβλίον, ὡς τῷ μετροῦντι τὸ μετρούμενον.

XX. Ὅ δὲ Δύσανδρος, ἐλθούσης τῆς σκυτάλης πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, διεταράχθη, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τοῦ Φαρναβάζου δεδιώσας κατηγορίας, ἐσπούδασεν εἰς λόγους αὐτοῦ συνελθεῖν, ὡς λύσων τὴν διαφοράν. καὶ συνελθὼν ἐδείτο γράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐτέραν ἐπιστολήν ὡς οὐδὲν ἡδικημένον οὐδ’ ἐγκαλοῦντα.

2 πρὸς Κρήτη ἀριστεύσας τῷ λόγῳ, κρητικῶν ἠγιῶν τοῦ Φαρνάβαζος. ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ ἀπαντᾶ ποιήσειν, φανερῶς μὲν ἔγραψεν οὗν ὁ Δύσανδρος ἥξισθεν ἐπιστολήν, κρύφα δὲ εἰχεν ἐτέραν αὐτὸθε γεγραμμένην. ἐν δὲ τῷ τάς σφρα-
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wish to send some secret and important message, they make a scroll of parchment long and narrow, like a leathern strap, and wind it round their "scytale," leaving no vacant space thereon, but covering its surface all round with the parchment. After doing this, they write what they wish on the parchment, just as it lies wrapped about the "scytale"; and when they have written their message, they take the parchment off, and send it, without the piece of wood, to the commander. He, when he has received it, cannot otherwise get any meaning out of it,—since the letters have no connection, but are disarranged,—unless he takes his own "scytale" and winds the strip of parchment about it, so that, when its spiral course is restored perfectly, and that which follows is joined to that which precedes, he reads around the staff, and so discovers the continuity of the message. And the parchment, like the staff, is called "scytale," as the thing measured bears the name of the measure.

XX. But Lysander, when the dispatch-scroll reached him at the Hellespont, was much disturbed, and since he feared the denunciations of Pharnabazus above all others, he hastened to hold a conference with him, hoping to compose their quarrel. At this conference he begged Pharnabazus to write another letter about him to the magistrates, stating that he had not been wronged at all, and had no complaints to make. But in thus "playing the Cretan against a Cretan," as the saying is, he misjudged his opponent. For Pharnabazus, after promising to do all that he desired, openly wrote such a letter as Lysander demanded, but secretly kept another by him ready written. And when it came to putting on the seals,
γίδας ἐπιβάλλειν ἐναλλάξας τὰ βιβλία μηδὲν
diaφέροντα τῇ ὤψει, δίδωσιν ἐκείνην αὐτῷ τὴν
3 κρύφα γεγραμμένην. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος
eἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ πορευθεὶς, ὦσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν,
eἰς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ἔφοροις τὰ γράμματα
tοῦ Φαρναβάζου, πεπεισμένος ἀνηρήσκει τὸ
mέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἡγαπάτο γὰρ ὁ
Φαρνάβαζος ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, προθυμό-
tατος ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν
4 γεγενημένος. ἔπει δὲ ἀναγρόντες οἱ ἔφοροι τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν ἔδειξαν αὐτῷ, καὶ συνήκεν ὡς

Οὐκ ἄρ’ Ὅδυσσεύς ἐστιν αἰμύλος μόνος,
tότε μὲν ἵσχυρῶς τεθορυβημένος ἀπῆλθεν ἡμέραις
de ὀλγαίς ὦστερον ἐντυχὼν τοῖς ἄρχοντιν ἐφη
dεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀμμωνος ἀναβήναι καὶ τῷ θεῷ
5 θύσαι θυσίας ὡς εὐξατο πρὸ τῶν ἁγώνων. ἔνιοι
μὲν οὖν ἅληθῶς φασίν αὐτῷ πολυρρικοῦντι τὴν τῶν
'Ἀφυταίων πόλιν ἐν Θράκη κατὰ τοὺς ὑπ'νους
παραστήναι τῶν Ἀμμωνοι, διὸ καὶ τὴν πολυρρ-
κίαις ἀφείς, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος, ἐκέλευσε
tοὺς 'Αφυταίους Ἀμμωνοι θύειν καὶ τὸν θεὸν
ἐσπούδασεν εἰς τὴν Διβυῆν πορευθεῖς ἐξελάσα-
6 σθαί. τοὺς δὲ πλείστοις ἐδόκει πρόσχημα ποι-
εῖσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰς δὲ τοὺς ἐφόρους δεδοκιὼς
καὶ τὸν οἴκοι ξυγὸν οὐ φέρον οὐδ' ὑπομένον ἄρ-
χεσθαι πλάνης ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ περιφοιτήσεως
τινὸς, ὦσπερ ἢππος ἐκ νομῆς ἄφετο καὶ λειμῶνος
αὖθις ἥκων ἐπὶ φάτνη καὶ πρὸς τὸ σύνθες ἔρχον
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he exchanged the documents, which looked exactly alike, and gave him the letter which had been secretly written. Accordingly, when Lysander arrived at Sparta and went, as the custom is, into the senate-house, he gave the ephors the letter of Pharnabazus, convinced that the greatest of the complaints against him was thus removed; for Pharnabazus was in high favour with the Lacedaemonians, because he had been, of all the King's generals, most ready to help them in the war. But when the ephors, after reading the letter, showed it to him, and he understood that

"Odysseus, then, is not the only man of guile," 1 for the time being he was mightily confounded and went away. But a few days afterwards, on meeting the magistrates, he said that he was obliged to go up to the temple of Ammon 2 and sacrifice to the god the sacrifices which he had vowed before his battles. Now some say that when he was besieging the city of Aphytae in Thrace, Ammon really stood by him in his sleep; wherefore he raised the siege, declaring that the god had commanded it, and ordered the Aphytaeans to sacrifice to Ammon, and was eager to make a journey into Libya and propitiate the god. But the majority believed that he made the god a pretext, and really feared the ephors, and was impatient of the yoke at home, and unable to endure being under authority, and therefore longed to wander and travel about somewhat, like a horse which comes back from unrestricted pasturage in the meadows to his stall, and is put once more to his accustomed work.

1 An iambic trimeter of some unknown poet.
2 In an oasis of the great desert of Libya. Cf. Cimon, xviii. 6 f.
καὶ κεῖται ἄγομενος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἔφορος τῆς ἀποδήμιας ταύτης αἰτίαν ἀναγράφει, μετὰ μικρὸν ἀφηγήσομαι.

XXI. Μόλις δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀφέθηναι διαπραξάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξέπλευσεν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀποδημήσαντος αὐτοῦ συμφρονήσαντες ὅτι ταῖς ἐταιρείαις τὰς πόλεις κατέχον διὰ παντὸς ἀρχεῖ καὶ κύριος ἐστι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἔπρασσον ὅπως ἀποδώσουσι τοῖς δημόταις τὰ πράγματα τοὺς ἐκείνους φίλους ἐκβαλόντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν πρὸς ταύτα κινήματος γενομένου, καὶ πρῶτων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Ἀθηναίων ἐπιθεμένων τοῖς τριάκοντα καὶ κρατούντων, ἐπανελθὼν διὰ ταχέων ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔπεισε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς δήμους κολάξειν. καὶ πρῶτοι τοῖς τριάκοντα πέμπτουσιν ἐκατὸν τάλαντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν

3 Λύσανδρον. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς φθονοῦντες καὶ δεδιώτες μὴ πάλιν ἐλη τὰς Ἀθηναίας, ἔγνωσαν εξεῖναι τὸν ἔτερον αὐτῶν. ἐξήλθε δὲ ὁ Παυσανίας, λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν τυράννων ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον, ἔργῳ δὲ καταλύσων τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς μὴ πάλιν ὁ Λύσανδρος διὰ τῶν φίλων κύριος ἔνοικτο τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. τούτῳ μὲν οὐν διεπράξατο ῥαδίως· καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίος διαλλάξας καὶ καταπάυσας τὴν στάσιν

4 ἀφείλετο τοῦ Λυσανδρου τὴν φιλοτιμίαν. ὅλιγῷ δὲ ὕπερ τῶν ἀποστάντων πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, ὡς ἐγκεχαλικωμένον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τὸν δήμον ἀνείς αὐθεῖς ἐξειβρίσαι καὶ

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Ephorus, it is true, assigns another reason for this absence abroad, which I shall mention by and by.¹

XXI. After he had with great difficulty procured his release by the ephors, he set sail. But the kings, when he had gone abroad, became aware that by means of the societies which he had formed, he had the cities entirely in his power and was master of Hellas; they therefore took measures for deposing his friends everywhere and restoring the management of affairs to the people. However, fresh disturbances broke out in connection with these changes, and first of all the Athenians from Phyle attacked the Thirty and overpowered them. Lysander therefore came home in haste, and persuaded the Lacedaemonians to aid the oligarchies and chastise the democracies. Accordingly, they sent to the Thirty, first of all, a hundred talents for the war, and Lysander himself as general. But the kings were jealous of him, and feared to let him capture Athens a second time; they therefore determined that one of them should go out with the army. And Pausanias did go out, ostensibly in behalf of the tyrants ² against the people, but really to put a stop to the war, in order that Lysander might not again become master of Athens through the efforts of his friends. This object, then, he easily accomplished, and by reconciling the Athenians and putting a stop to their discord, he robbed Lysander of his ambitious hopes. A short time afterwards, however, when the Athenians revolted again, he himself was censured for taking the curb of the oligarchy out of the mouth of the people, and letting them grow bold and insolent again; while

¹ Chapter xxv. 3. ² That is, the Thirty in Athens.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

θρασύνασθαι, τῷ δὲ Δυσάνδρῳ προσεθήκατο
doξαν ἀνδρὸς οὐ πρὸς ἑτέρων χάριν οὐδὲ θεατρι-
cώς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ τῇ Σπάρτῃ συμφέρον αὐθε-
cάστως στρατηγοῦντος.

XXII. Ἡν δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ θρασύνει καὶ κατα-
πληκτικῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιτείνοντας. Ἀργείων μὲν
γὰρ ἀμφιλογομένους περὶ γῆς ὄρων καὶ δικαιό-
tερα τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων οἰομένους λέγειν δείξας
τὴν máχαιραν, "Ὄ ταύτης," ἑφη, "κρατῶν βέλ-
tιστα περὶ γῆς ὄρων διαλέγεται." Μεγαρέως δὲ
ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις παρρησία χρησαμένου
πρὸς αὐτόν, "Οἱ λόγοι σου," εἶπεν, "ὡς ξένε,
pόλεως δέονται." τοὺς δὲ Βοιωτοὺς ἐπαμφοτερι-
ζοντας ἡρώτα πότερον ὀρθοὶς τοῖς δόρασιν ή
κεκλιμένους διαπορεύνεται τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ἔπει
δὲ τῶν Κορυνθίων ἀφεστῶτων παρερχόμενος πρὸς
τὰ τείχη τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἐώρα προσβάλλειν
ἐκνούντας, καὶ λαγὼς τῖς ὀδὴν διαπηδῶν τὴν
tάφρον, "Οὐκ οἰσχύνεσθε," ἑφη, "τοιοῦτος
φοβούμενοι πολεμῶσιν, ὅν οἱ λαγωὶ δὲ ἄργιαν
tοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγκαθευνόνους;"

3 Ἑπεὶ δὲ Ἅγις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἀδελ-
φὸν μὲν Ἡρακλείδου καταλιπών, νῦν δὲ νομιζόμε-
νου Δεσποτικῶν ἔρασθε τῷ Ἅγισιλάου γεγο-
νὼς ὁ Δυσανδρὸς ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι
τῆς βασιλείας ὧς Ἡρακλείδην ὄντα γνήσιον. ὦ
γὰρ Δεσποτικῶν διαβολὴν εἶχεν ἐξ Ἀλκιβιάδου
γεγονέναι, συνόντος κρύφα τῇ Ἡγίδος γυναικὶ
Τιμαία καθ' ὁν χρόνον φεύγων ἐν Σπάρτῃ διέ-

4 τρίβειν. ὁ δὲ Ἅγις, ὃς φασὶ, χρόνου λογισμῷ τὸ
πράγμα συνελών, ὡς οὐ κυήσειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παρη-
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Lysander won fresh repute as a man who exercised his command in downright fashion, not for the gratification of others, nor yet to win applause, but for the good of Sparta.

XXII. He was harsh of speech also, and terrifying to his opponents. For instance, when the Argives were disputing about boundaries, and thought they made a juster plea than the Lacedaemonians, he pointed to his sword, and said to them: “He who is master of this discourses best about boundaries.” And when a Megarian, in some conference with him, grew bold in speech, he said: “Thy words, Stranger, lack a city.” And when the Boeotians tried to play a double game with him, he asked them whether he should march through their territory with spears upright, or levelled. And once when the Corinthians had revolted, and, on coming to their walls, he saw that the Lacedaemonians hesitated to make an assault, a hare was seen leaping across the moat; whereupon he said: “Are ye not ashamed to fear enemies who are so lazy that hares sleep on their walls?”

When Agis the king died, leaving a brother, Agesilaus, and a reputed son, Leotychides, Lysander, who had been a lover of Agesilaus, persuaded him to lay claim to the kingdom, on the ground that he was a genuine descendant of Heracles. For Leotychides was accused of being a son of Alcibiades, who had secret commerce with Timaea, the wife of Agis, while he was living in exile at Sparta. Now Agis, as they tell us, being convinced by a computation of time that his wife had not conceived by him, ignored

1 In 398 B.C., after returning home from a victorious campaign (Xen. Hell. iii. 3, 1).
μέλει τοῦ Δεωτυχίδου καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἀναινόμενος αὐτὸν παρά γε τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον. ἔπει δὲ νοσῶν εἰς Ἡραίαν ἐκκομίσθη καὶ τελευτᾷν ἔμελλε, τὰ μὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νεανίσκου, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἐκλυπαρηθεὶς ἐναντίον πολλῶν ἀπέφηνεν νῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν Δεωτυχίδαν, καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν παρόντων ἐπιμαρτυρῆσαι ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς Λα-κεδαίμονίους ἀπέθανεν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἔμαρτυρον ταῦτα τῷ Δεωτυχίδᾳ: τὸν δ’ Ἀγησίλαον λαμπρὸν ὑπ’ αὐτὰ τὰλλα καὶ συναγωνιστὴ τῷ Λυ-σάνδρῳ χρώμενον ἐβλασπῆς Διοπείδης, ἀνήρ εὐδό-κιμος ἐπὶ χρησμολογία, τοιώδε μάντευμα προφέρων εἰς τὴν χωλότητα τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον.

Φράξεο δη, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος ἑοῦσα, μὴ σέθεν ἄρτιποδος βλάστη χωλὴ βασιλεία. δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχήσουσιν ἀελπτοι φθισιβρότο τ’ ἐπὶ κύμα κυλινδόμενον πολέ-μοι.

6 πολλῶν οὖν ὑποκατακλινομένων πρὸς τὸ λόγιον καὶ τρεπομένων πρὸς τὸν Δεωτυχίδαν, ὁ Λυ-σανδρός οὖν ὅρθως ἤφη τὸν Διοπείθη τὴν μαντεῖαν ὑπολαμβάνει: οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσπίπτασας τις ἀρχὴ Δακεδαίμονίων, δυσχεραίνει τὸν θεὸν, ἀλλὰ χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν εἰ νόθοι καὶ κακῶς γεγονότες βασιλεύσουσι σὺν Ἡρακλείδαις. τοι-αύτα λέγων καὶ δυνάμενος πλεῖστον ἔπεισε, καὶ γίνεται βασιλεῖς Ἀγησίλαος.

1 σὺν supplied by Sintenis alone.
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Leotychides, and manifestly repudiated him up to the last. But when he was carried sick to Heraea and was about to die, he yielded to the entreaties of the young man himself and of his friends, and declared in the hearing of many that Leotychides was his own son, and after begging those who were present to bear witness of this to the Lacedaemonians, died. Accordingly, they did so bear witness in favour of Leotychides. Moreover, Agesilaüs, who was otherwise illustrious, and had Lysander as a champion, was injured in his claim by Diopeithes, a man in high repute for his interpretation of oracles, who published the following prophecy with reference to the lameness of Agesilaüs:—

"Bethink thee now, O Sparta, although thou art very proud,
Lest from thee, sound of foot, there spring a maimed royalty;
For long will unexpected toils oppress thee,
And onward rolling billows of man-destroying war."

Many, therefore, out of deference to the oracle, inclined to Leotychides, but Lysander declared that Diopeithes did not interpret the prophecy correctly; for it did not mean that the god would be displeased if one who was lame should rule the Lacedaemonians, but the kingdom would be maimed if bastards and ill-born men should be kings in a line with the posterity of Heracles. By such arguments, and because he had very great influence, he prevailed, and Agesilaüs became king.

1 Cf. Plutarch’s Agesilaüs, ii. 2.
2 Cf. Plutarch’s Agesilaüs, iii. 3–5; Xen. Hell. iii. 3, 2 f.
XXIII. Εὐθὺς οὖν αὐτὸν ἐξώρμα καὶ προὺ-
trepev ὁ Δύσανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατευεῖν,
ὑποτθείς ἐλπίδας ὡς καταλύσωντι Πέρσας καὶ
μεγίστων γεγονότας, πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ
φίλους ἔγραψεν αἰτεῖσθαι κελεύων παρὰ Δακε-
dαιμονὶς στρατηγὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπί τὸν πρὸς
2 τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον. οὐ δὲ ἐπείθόντο καὶ
πρέσβεις ἑπεμπὸν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα δεομένους· οὐ
dοκεῖ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔλαττον Ἀγησίλαῳ καλὸν
ὑπάρξαι διὰ Δύσανδρον. ἀλλ' αἱ φιλότιμοι
φύσεις ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἔξωσεν τὸς ἴδιον
ἰείσαι, τὸ δὲ φθονεῖν τοὺς ὀμοίους διὰ δόξαν οὐ
μικρὸν ἐμπόδιον τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἔχοντι
ποιοῦνται γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστᾶς τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐς πάρ-
3 εστὶ χρῆσθαι συνεργοῖς. Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν
ἐπηγαγεῖ τὸν Δύσανδρον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα συμ-
βουλίοις ὡς μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτῳ τῶν φίλων
χρησόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν παραγενομέ-
nον πρὸς ἑκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι
συνήθως βραχέα καὶ σπανίως διελέγοντο, τὸν δὲ
Δύσανδρον ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς πρὸσθεν ὀμιλίας οὐ
tε φίλοι θεραπεύοντες οὐ τε ὑποπτοὶ δεδοκικότες
4 ἐφοίτων ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παρηκολούθων, οἷον ἐν
τραγῳδίας ἐπιεικῶς συμβαίνει περὶ τοὺς ὑπο-
κριτάς, τὸν μὲν ἀγγελόν τινὸς ἡ θεράποντος
ἐπικείμενον1 πρὸς σωστὸν εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ προταγωνι-
ιστεῖν, τὸν δὲ διάδημα καὶ σκήπτρον φοροῦντα
μηδὲ ἀκούεσθαι φθεγγόμενον, οὕτω περὶ τὸν
σύμβουλον ἦν τὸ πάν ἁξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τῷ δὲ
βασιλεὶ τούνομα τῆς δυνάμεως ἔρημον ἀπελεύθητο.

1 ἐπικείμενον Bekker adopts Coraës' correction to περικελ-

μενον.

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XXIII. At once, then, Lysander tried to rouse and incite him to make an expedition into Asia, suggesting hopes that he would put down the Persians and become a very great man. He also wrote letters to his friends in Asia, bidding them ask Agesilaüs of the Lacedaemonians as general for their war against the Barbarians. They obeyed, and sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon with the request, and thus an honour not inferior to that of being made king was obtained for Agesilaüs through the efforts of Lysander. But with ambitious natures, which are otherwise not ill qualified for command, jealousy of their equals in reputation is no slight obstacle to the performance of noble deeds; for they make those their rivals in the path of virtue, whom they might have as helpers. Agesilaüs did indeed take Lysander with him among his thirty counsellors, intending to treat him with special favour as his chief friend; but when they were come into Asia, the people there, who were not acquainted with him, conferred with him but rarely and briefly, whereas Lysander, in consequence of their large intercourse with him in former times, had them always at his door and in his train, those who were his friends coming out of deference, and those whom he suspected, out of fear. And just as in tragedies it naturally happens that an actor who takes the part of some messenger or servant is in high repute and plays leading rôles, while the one who bears the crown and sceptre is not even listened to when he speaks, so in this case the whole honour of the government was associated with the counsellor, and there was left for the king only the empty name of power.

1 Cf. Plutarch’s Agesilaüs, vi. 1 f.
5 γενέσθαι μὲν οὖν ἵσως ἐδει τινὰ τῆς ἐκμελοῦσας ταύτης φιλοτιμίας ἐπαφὴν καὶ συσταλήματι τὸν Λύσανδρον ἀχρὶ τῶν δευτερεύων τὸ δὲ παντελῶς ἀπορρίψαι καὶ προπηλακίσαι διὰ δόξαν εὐεργετὴν ἄνδρα καὶ φίλον οὐκ ἦν ἂξιον Ἀγησιλάῳ προσεῖναι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐ παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ πράξεων ἀφορμάς, οὔτε ἔταττεν ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας· ἔπειτα ύπὲρ δὲν αἰσθητό τι πράττοντα καὶ σπουδάζοντα τὸν Λύσανδρον, ἀεὶ τούτους πάντως ἀπράκτους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἐλαττον ἐχοντας ἀπέπεμπε, παραλύων ἤπαχθη καὶ διαψυχῶν τὴν ἐκεῖνον δύναμιν. ἔπει δὲ τῶν πάντων διαμαρτάνων ὁ Δύσανδρος ἐγὼ τοῖς φίλοις τῇν παρ’ αὐτὸς σπουδὴν ἐναντίωμα γινομένην, αὐτὸς τε τὸ βοηθεῖν ἔξελπε κάκεινον ἐδείκε μὴ προσίεναι μηδὲ θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις ὠφελεῖν τοὺς τιμῶντας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτὸν περὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείχοντο, τὰς δὲ θεραπείας οὐ κατέλιτον, ἀλλὰ προσφοιτῶντες ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις καὶ γυμνασίοις ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον ἡμῶν τὸν 'Αγησίλαον ὑπὸ φθόνον τῆς τιμῆς, ὡστε τοῖς πολλοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἡγεμονίας πραγμάτων καὶ διοικήσεως πόλεων ἀποδίδον τὸν Δύσανδρον ἀπέδειξε κρεοδαίτην. εἶτα οἶον ἐφυβρίζων πρὸς τοὺς Ἰωνίας, "Ἀπιόντες," ἐφη, "νῦν τὸν ἐμὸν κρεοδαίτην θεραπευέτωσαν."

8 ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ διὰ λόγων πρὸς αὐτὸν

1 Σπαρτιάταις the correction of Emperius: στρατιώταις (soldiers).

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It is true, perhaps, that there should have been some gentle handling of this excessive ambition, and that Lysander should have been reduced to the second place; but entirely to cast off and insult, for fame’s sake, a benefactor and a friend, was not worthy of the character of Agesilaüs.

In the first place, then, he did not give him opportunities for achievement, nor even assign him to a command; and secondly, those in whose behalf he perceived that Lysander was earnestly exerting himself, these he always sent away with less reward than an ordinary suitor, or wholly unsuccessful, thus quietly undoing and chilling his influence. So when Lysander missed all his aims, and saw that his interested efforts for his friends were an obstacle to their success, he not only ceased to give them his own aid, but begged them not to wait upon him nor pay him their court, but to confer with the king, and with such as had more power to benefit those who showed them honour than was his at present. Most of those who heard this refrained from troubling him about their affairs, but did not cease paying him their court, nay rather, by waiting upon him in the public walks and places of exercise, they gave Agesilaüs even more annoyance than before, because he envied him the honour. Therefore, though he offered most of the Spartans 1 commands in the field and governments of cities, he appointed Lysander his carver of meats. And presently, as if by way of insult to the Ionians, he said: “Let them be off, and pay their court now to my carver of meats.” Accordingly, Lysander determined to have a con-

1 Agis took thirty Spartans with him as counsellors and captains (Plutarch’s Agesilaüs, vi. 3; Xenophon’s Agesilaüs, i. 7).
ἐλθεῖν καὶ γίνεται βραχὺς καὶ Δακωνικὸς αὐτῶν διάλογος. "Ἡ καλῶς ὤδεις, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, φίλους ἐλαττοῦν." καὶ ὁς. "‘Ἀν γε ἐμὸν βούλωνται μέξονες εἶναι τοὺς δὲ αὐξουτας τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν καὶ μετέχειν αὐτῆς δίκαιον." "'Αλλ’ ἵσως μὲν, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, σοι λέλεκται κάλλιον ἡ ἐμοὶ πέπρακται δέομαι δὲ σου καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἄνθρωπος, οὐ πρὸς ἦμᾶς ἀποβλέπουσιν, ἐνταῦθα με τῆς σεαυτοῦ στρατηγίας τάξαν, ὅποι τεταγμένον ἦκιστα μὲν ἐπαχθῇ, μᾶλλον δὲ χρήσιμον ἐσεθαί σεαυτῷ νομίζεις.”

XXIV. Ἐκ τούτου πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Ἑλλησσοῦντον ἐπέμπτετο καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀγησίλαον δι’ ὁργῆς εἰχεῖν, οὐκ ἠμέλει δὲ τοῦ τὰ δεόντα πράττειν, Σπυριδάτην δὲ τὸν Πέρσην προσκεκρουκότα Φαρναβάζῳ, γενναίον ἄνδρα καὶ στρατιῶν ἔχοντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀποστήσας ἠγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. ἂλλο δὲ οὔδεν ἐχρήσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἄλλα τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἐπάρτην ἀτίμως, ὀργιζόμενος μὲν τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ, μισῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν ἑτὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, καὶ τὰ πάλαι δοκοῦντα συγκεῖσθαι καὶ μεμηχανήσθαι πρὸς μεταβολὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐγνωκῶς ἐγχειρεῖν τότε καὶ μὴ διαμέλλειν.

3 Ἡν δὲ τοιάδε. τῶν ἀναμιχθέντων Δωριεύσων Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ κατελθόντων εἰς Πελοπόννησον πολῦ μὲν ἐν Ἐπάρτῃ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦνθησε γένος, οὐ παντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς βασιλικῆς μετὴν διαδοχῆς, 300
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ference with him, at which a brief and laconic dialogue passed between them. "Verily, thou knowest well, Agesilaüs, how to abase friends." To which Agesilaüs: "Yes, if they would be greater than I; but those who increase my power should also share in it." "Well, perhaps thy words, Agesilaüs, are fairer than my deeds; but I beg thee, even because of the strangers who have their eyes upon us, to give me a post under thy command where thou believest that I shall be least annoying to thyself, and more serviceable than now." ¹

XXIV. Upon this, he was sent as ambassador to the Hellespont; and though he was angry with Agesilaüs, he did not neglect to do his duty, but induced Spithridates the Persian, a high-minded man with forces at his command, to revolt from Pharnabazus, with whom he was at odds, and brought him to Agesilaüs.² The king made no further use of Lysander, however, in the war, and when his time had expired, he sailed back to Sparta without honour, not only enraged at Agesilaüs, but hating the whole form of government more than ever, and resolved to put into execution at once, and without delay, the plans for a revolutionary change which he is thought to have devised and concocted some time before.

They were as follows. Of the Heracleidae who united with the Dorians and came down into Peloponnesus, there was a numerous and glorious stock flourishing in Sparta; however, not every family belonging to it participated in the royal succession,

¹ Cf. Plutarch's Agesilaüs, vii.–viii. 1–2; Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 7–9.
² Cf. Plutarch's Agesilaüs, viii. 3; Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 10.

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ἀλλ’ ἐβασιλεύειν ἐκ δυνῶν οἷών μόνων Εὐρυποποτίδαι καὶ Ἄγιάδαι προσαγορεύομενοι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὐδὲν ἔτερον πλέον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν ὑπῆρχεν, αἰ δὲ ἀν’ ἀρετῆς 4 τιμαὶ πᾶσι προῳκείμενοι τοῖς δυναμένοις. τούτων οὖν γεγονὼς ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡς εἰς δόξαν τῶν πράξεων ἡρθη μεγάλη καὶ φίλους ἐκεκτήσαν πολλοὺς καὶ δύναμιν, ἠχετο τὴν πόλιν ὅρων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μὲν αὐξανομένην, ὑφ’ ἐτέρου δὲ βασιλευομένην οὐδὲν βέλτιον αὐτοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ διενεχοταὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν δυνῶν οἰκών μεταστήσας εἰς κοινὸν 5 ἀποδούναι πᾶσιν Ἡρακλεῖδαῖς, ὡς δὲ ἐνιόθαι φασίν, οὐχ Ἡρακλεῖδαῖς, ἀλλὰ Σπαρτιάταις ἵνα μὴ ἢ τῶν ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους, ἀλλὰ τῶν οἷς Ἡρακλῆς τὸ γέρας, ἀρετὴ κρινόμενων, ἢ κάκεινον εἰς θεὸν τιμᾶς ἀνήγαγεν. ἦπιπίζε δὲ τῆς βασιλείας οὗτῳ δικαζομένης οὔτεν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Σπαρτιάτην ἄν αἰρέθησοθα.

XXV. Πρώτον μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ παρεσκευάσατο πείθειν δι’ ἐαυτοῦ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ λόγον ἐξεμελέτα πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ Κλέωνος τοῦ Ἀλκαρνασσέως. ἔπειτα τὴν ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ καυσοτομομένου πράγματος ὅρων ἱπατωτέρας δεόμενον βοηθείας, ὡσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μηχανὴν αἴρων ἐπὶ τοὺς 2 πολίτας, λόγια πυθόρομα καὶ χρησμοὺς συνετίθει καὶ κατεσκευάζει, ὡς οὐδὲν ὀφελησό-
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but the kings were chosen from two houses only, and were called Eurypontidae and Agiadae. The rest had no special privileges in the government because of their high birth, but the honours which result from superior excellence lay open to all who had power and ability. Now Lysander belonged to one of these families, and when he had risen to great fame for his deeds, and had acquired many friends and great power, he was vexed to see the city increased in power by his efforts, but ruled by others who were of no better birth than himself. He therefore planned to take the government away from the two houses, and restore it to all the Heracleidae in common, or, as some say, not to the Heracleidae, but to the Spartans in general, in order that its high prerogatives might not belong to those only who were descended from Heracles, but to those who, like Heracles, were selected for superior excellence, since it was this which raised him to divine honours. And he hoped that when the kingdom was awarded on this principle, no Spartan would be chosen before himself.

XXV. In the first place, then, he undertook and made preparations to persuade the citizens by his own efforts, and committed to memory a speech written by Cleon, the Halicarnassian, for the purpose. In the second place, seeing that the novelty and magnitude of his innovation demanded a more audacious support, he brought stage machinery to bear upon the citizens, as it were, by collecting and arranging responses and oracles of Apollo; convinced

2 In the Greek theatre, gods were swung into view, above the plane of the action, by means of a huge crane. Cf. Themistocles, x. 1.
μενος ὑπὸ τῆς Κλέωνος δεινότητος, εἰ μὴ φόβος θεοῦ τινι καὶ δεισιδαιμονία προεκπλήξας καὶ χειρωσάμενος ὑπαγάγοι πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοὺς πολίτας. Ἐφορος μὲν οὖν φησιν αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὴν τε Πυθίαν ἐπιχειρήσας διαφθείραι καὶ τὰς Δωδωνίδας αὐθίς ἀναπείθων διὰ Φερεκλέους ἀπετυχει, εἰς Ἀμμωνός ἀναβήναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς προφήταις πολὺ χρυσίον διδόντα, τοὺς δὲ δυσχεραίνοντας εἰς Σπάρτην τινὰς ἀποστείλαι τοῦ Δυσάνδρου κατηγορήσοντας, ἐπει δὲ ἀπελύθη, τοὺς Δίβυνας ἀπίοντας εἰπεῖν: "Ἀλλ’ ἥμεις γε βέλτιον, ὥς Σπαρταῖαι, κρινούμεν, ὅταν ἦκητε πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς Δίβυνην οἰκήσοντες," ὡς δὴ χρησμοῦ τινος ὄντος παλαιοῦ Δακεδαιμονίους ἐν Δίβυνῃ κατοικῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ὕλην ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ σκευοφρίαν τοῦ πλάσματος οὐ φαύλην ὤσαν οὐδὲ ἀφ’ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἀρξαμένην, ἄλλα πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ὑποθέσεις, ὡσπερ ἐν διαγράμματι μαθηματικῷ, προσλαβοῦσαν καὶ διὰ λημμάτων χαλεπῶν καὶ δυστορίστων ἐπὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα προϊόνταν, ἥμεις ἀναγράψομεν ἀνδρὸς ἱστορικοῦ καὶ φιλοσόφου λόγῳ κατακολουθήσαντες.

XXVI. Ἡν γύναιον ἐν Πόντῳ κύιειν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος φάμενος, φι πολλοὶ μὲν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡπίστουν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ προσεῖχον, ὡστε καὶ τεκούσης παιδάριον ἀρρεν ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ γνωρίμων σπουδάζεσθαι τὴν ἐκτροφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ὅνομα δὲ τῷ παιδὶ Σεληνὸς ἐκ δὴ τινος αἰτίας ἐτέθη. ταύτην λαβὼν ὦ
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that Cleon’s clever rhetoric would not help him at all unless he should first terrify and subdue his countrymen by vague religious fear and superstitious terror, and then bring them under the influence of his argument. Well, then, Ephorus tells us that after an attempt to corrupt the Pythian priestess, and after a second failure to persuade the priestesses of Dodona by means of Pherecles, he went up to the temple of Ammon and had a conference with that god’s interpreters there, at which he offered them much money, but that they took this ill, and sent certain messengers to Sparta to denounce him; and further, that when Lysander was acquitted of their charges, the Libyans said, as they went away, “But we will pass better judgments than yours, O Spartans, when ye come to dwell with us in Libya”; for they knew that there was a certain ancient oracle bidding the Lacedaemonians to settle in Libya. But since the whole plot and concoction was no insignificant one, nor yet carelessly undertaken, but made many important assumptions, like a mathematical demonstration, and proceeded to its conclusion through premises which were difficult and hard to obtain, we shall follow, in our description of it, the account of one who was both a historian and a philosopher.¹

XXVI. There was a woman in Pontus who declared that she was with child by Apollo. Many disbelieved her, as was natural, but many also lent an ear to her, so that when she gave birth to a male child, many notable persons took an interest in its care and rearing. For some reason or other, the name given to the boy was Silenus. Lysander

¹ Probably Ephorus.
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Δύσανδρος ἀρχήν, τὰ λοιπὰ παρ’ ἐαυτοῦ προσε-tektaîne to kai syνゅφαινεν, oúk ἀλλοιχ χρω-μενοι οὐδὲ φαύλοις τοῦ μύθον συναγωνισταῖς, 2 οἱ τὴν τε φήμην τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς πίστιν ἀνυπόπτως προῆγον, ἀλλὰ τε λόγον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀντικομίσαντες εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην κατε-βαλον καὶ δέσπειραν, ὡς ἐν γράμμασιν ἀπορ-ρήτους ὑπὸ τῶν ιερέων φυλάττοιντο παμπύλαιοι δὴ τινες χρησμοί, καὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτους οὐδὲ ἐνυχεῖν θεμιτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰς ἄρα γεγονός ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀφίκοιτο τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς φυλάττουσι τῆς γενέσεως γνώρι-μον παρασχὼν κομίσαιτο τὰς δελτοὺς ἐν αἷς ἦσαν
3 οἱ χρησμοί. τούτων δὲ προκατεσκευασμένων ἔδει τὸν Σείληνον ἐλθόντα τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀπαίτειν ὡς Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα, τοὺς δὲ συμπράττοντας τῶν ιερέων ἐξακριβῶν ἐκαστὰ καὶ διαπυθάνε-σθαι περὶ τῆς γενέσεως, τέλος δὲ πεπεισμένως δῆθεν ὡς Ἀπόλλωνος ὡς δείξει τὰ γράμματα, τὸν δὲ ἀναγνώριοι πολλῶν παρόντων ἄλλας τε μαντείας καὶ ἥς ἐνεκα τάλλα πεπλασται 1 τὴν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὡς ἅμεινον εἰς καὶ λόιδον Σπαρτιάταις ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων πολιτῶν αἱρουμένους τοὺς βασιλέας.

4 Ἡδὴ δὲ τοῦ Σείληνον μειρακίων γεγονότοις καὶ πρὸς τὴν πράξει ἤκουστος, ἐξέπεσε τοῦ δράματος ὁ Δύσανδρος ἀτολμία τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ συνεργῶν ἐνός, ὡς ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἦλθεν, ἀποδειλίσαντος καὶ ἀναδύνοτος. οὐ μὴν ἐφωράθη γε τοῦ Δυσάν-δρου ξύντος οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

1 τάλλα πεπλασται: the correction of Coraës; ταῖσα: Bekker: πλάσαι, with the MSS.

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took these circumstances for his foundation, and supplied the rest of his cunning fabric himself, making use of not a few, nor yet insignificant, champions of the tale, who brought the story of the boy's birth into credit without exciting suspicion. They also brought back another response from Delphi, and caused it to be circulated in Sparta, which declared that sundry very ancient oracles were kept in secret writings by the priests there, and that it was not possible to get these, nor even lawful to read them, unless someone born of Apollo should come after a long lapse of time, give the keepers an intelligible token of his birth, and obtain the tablets containing the oracles. The way being thus prepared, Silenus was to come and demand the oracles as Apollo's son, and the priests who were in the secret were to insist on precise answers to all their questions about his birth, and finally, persuaded, forsooth, that he was the son of Apollo, were to show him the writing. Then Silenus, in the presence of many witnesses, was to read aloud the prophecies, especially the one relating to the kingdom, for the sake of which the whole scheme had been invented, and which declared that it was more for the honour and interest of the Spartans to choose their kings from the best citizens.

But when at last Silenus was grown to be a youth, and was ready for the business, Lysander's play was ruined for him by the cowardice of one of his actors, or co-workers, who, just as he came to the point, lost his courage and drew back. However, all this was actually found out, not while Lysander was alive, but after his death.
XXVII. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ πρὶν ἐξ Ἀσίας ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τῶν Βοωτικῶν πόλεμον, ἥ μᾶλλον ἐμβαλὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγεται γὰρ ἄμφοτέρως καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ μέν τινες ἐκεῖνον ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ δὲ κοινῆς, Θηβαίους μὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι τῶν ιερῶν διάρρηψιν καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ Ἀνδροκλείδην καὶ Ἀμφίθεου χρήματι βασιλικοῖς διαφθαρέντων ἐπὶ τὸ Δακεδαιμονίως Ἐλληνικὸν περιστήσαι πόλεμον ἐπέθεντο Φωκέας καὶ τὴν 2 χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησαν, Δύσανδρον δὲ φασὶν ὀργῆ φέρειν ὅτι τῆς δεκάτης ἀντεποιήσαντο τοῦ πολέμου Θηβαίοι μόνοι, τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἃνυχαζόντων, καὶ περὶ χρημάτων ἡγανάκτησαν ἅ Λύσανδρος εἰς Σπάρτην ἀπέστειλε, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παρασχεῖν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναίοις ἐλευθερώσεως ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα τυράννων, οὐς Δύσανδρος μὲν κατέστησε, Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δύναμιν καὶ φόβον αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες ἐγκυμίζαντο τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀγωγίμους εἰναι πανταχόθεν, ἐκσπόνδυος δὲ τοὺς ἐνισταμένους τοῖς 3 ἀγοῦσι. πρὸς ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντεποιήσαντο Θηβαίοι ψηφίσματα πρέποντα καὶ ἀδελφὰ ταῖς Ἱππαλκέσι καὶ Διονύσου πράξεσιν, οἴκιαν μὲν ἀνέσχθαι πᾶσαν καὶ πόλιν ἐν Βοωτίᾳ τοῖς δεομένοις Ἀθηναίοι, τὸν δὲ τῷ ἀγομένῳ φυγάδι μὴ βοηθήσαντα ξημίαν ὀφείλειν τάλαντον, ἀν 449 δὲ τῖς Ἀθηναίζε διὰ τῆς Βοωτίας ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράν-

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1 In 395 B.C., the aggressions of Sparta led to an alliance between Thebes and Athens against her. In the following year Corinth and Argos joined the alliance, and the whole
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XXVII. And he died before Agesilaüs returned from Asia, after he had plunged, or rather had plunged Hellas, into the Boeotian war.¹ For it is stated in both ways; and some hold him responsible for the war, others the Thebans, and others both together. It is charged against the Thebans that they cast away the sacrifices at Aulis,² and that, because Androcleides and Amphitheus³ had been bribed with the King's money to stir up a war in Greece against the Lacedaemonians, they set upon the Phocians and ravaged their country. It is said, on the other hand, that Lysander was angry with the Thebans because they alone laid claim to a tenth part of the spoils of the war, while the rest of the allies held their peace; and because they were indignant about the money which he sent to Sparta; but above all, because they first put the Athenians in the way of freeing themselves from the thirty tyrants whom he had set up, whose terrorizing power the Lacedaemonians had increased by decreeing that fugitives from Athens might be brought back from every place of refuge, and that all who impeded their return should be declared enemies of Sparta. In reply to this the Thebans issued counter decrees, akin in spirit to the beneficent deeds of Heracles and Dionysus, to the effect that every house and city in Boeotia should be open to such Athenians as needed succour; and that whosoever did not help a fugitive under arrest, should be fined a talent; and that if any one should carry arms war, which dragged along until 387 B.C., is usually known as the "Corinthian war."

¹ In the spring of 396, when Agesilaüs vainly tried to sacrifice there, in imitation of Agamemnon (Plutarch’s Agesilaüs, vi. 4–6; Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 3f., and 5, 5).
² Cf. Xen. Hell. iii. 5, 1 and 4.
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νοὺς ὀπλα κομίζῃ, μητέ ὅραν τινα ᾿Οηβαίων μήτε ᾿Ακούειν. καὶ οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο μὲν οὖτως ᾿Ελ-
ληνικὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα, τὰς δὲ πράξεις τοῖς
γράμμασιν ὁμοίας οὐ παρέσχων, ᾽αλλὰ ῾Οραςύ-
βουλος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ᾿Φυλὴν καταλαβόντες
ἐκ ᾿Οηβῶν ὀρμήθησαν, ὀπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ
tὸ λαθεῖν καὶ τὸ ἀρξασθαι ᾿Οηβαίων αὐτοῖς
συμπαρασκευασάντων. αἰτίας μὲν οὖν ταῦτα
ἐλαβε κατὰ τῶν ᾿Οηβαίων ὁ ᾿Δύσανδρος.

XXVIII. Ἡδὴ δὲ πανταπασι χαλεπὸς ἄν
ὁργὴν διὰ τὴν μελαγχολίαν ἐπιτείνουσαν εἰς
γήρας, παρὼνυμε τοὺς ἔφορους καὶ συνέπεισε
φήναι φορμὰν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ῥγε-
μονίαν ἐξεστράτευσεν. ὤστερον δὲ καὶ Παυ-
ςανίαν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ στρατιὰς ἀπέστειλαν.

2 ᾿αλλὰ Παυςανίας μὲν κύκλῳ περιελθὼν διὰ τοῦ
Κιθαιρὼν ὅμβαλλεν ἐμελλέν εἰς τὴν Βωιτίαν,
Δύσανδρος δὲ διὰ Φωκέων ἄπτηνα στρατιώτας
ἐχὼν πολλοὺς· καὶ τὴν μὲν ᾿Ορχομεϊνῶν πόλιν
ἐκουσίως προσχωρῆσαν ἐλαβε, τὴν δὲ Λεβά-
δειαν ἐπελθὼν διεπόρθησεν. ἔπεμψε δὲ τῷ Παυ-
ςανίᾳ γράμματα κελεύων εἰς Ὀλιαρτόν ἐκ Πλα-
ταιῶν συνάπτειν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀμείρεσι πρὸς τοὺς
tεῖχες τῶν Ὀλιαρτῶν γενησόμενος. ταῦτα τὰ
grάμματα πρὸς τοὺς ᾿Οηβαίους ἀπηγάζει, τοῦ
κομίζοντος εἰς κατασκόπους τινὰς ἐμπεσόντος.

3 οἱ δὲ προσβεβοσθηκότων αὐτοῖς ᾿Αθηναίων τὴν
μὲν πόλιν ἐκείνοις διεπίστευσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ

1 Cf. Xen. H. c. ii. 4, 1 f.
2 Lysander was commissioned to raise a force of allies in
Phocis and the neighbouring country, with which Pausanias
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through Boeotia against the tyrants in Athens, no Theban would either see him or hear about it. And they did not merely vote such Hellenic and humane decrees, without at the same time making their deeds correspond to their edicts; but Thrasybulus and those who with him occupied Phyle, set out from Thebes to do so,¹ and the Thebans not only provided them with arms and money, but also with secrecy and a base of operations. Such, then, were the grounds of complaint which Lysander had against the Thebans.

XXVIII. And since he was now of an altogether harsh disposition, owing to the melancholy which persisted into his old age, he stirred up the ephors, and persuaded them to fit out an expedition against the Thebans; and assuming the command, he set out on the campaign.² Afterwards the ephors sent out Pausanias the king also with an army. Now it was the plan that Pausanias should make a circuit by the way of Mount Cithaeron, and then invade Boeotia, while Lysander marched through Phocis to meet him, with a large force. He took the city of Orchomenus, which came over to him of its own accord, and assaulted and plundered Lebadeia. Then he sent a letter to Pausanias, bidding him move from Plataea and join forces with him at Haliartus, and promising that he himself would be before the walls of Haliartus at break of day. This letter was brought to Thebes by some scouts, into whose hands its bearer fell. The Thebans therefore entrusted their city to a force of Athenians which had come to their aid, while they themselves set out early in the was to unite his troops (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5, 6). Plutarch’s language is obscure.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΡΟΙ

πρώτον ὑπνον ἐξορμήσαντες ἐφθασαν ὁλίγῳ τὸν Δύσανδρον ἐν Ἀλιάρττῳ γενόμενοι, καὶ μέρει τινὶ παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐκείνος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγνό τὴν στρατιὰν ἱδρύσας ἐπὶ λόφου περιμένειν τὸν Παυσανίαν· ἔπειτα προούσισης τῇς ἡμέρας ἀτρεμείν οὐ δυνάμενος, λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους παρορμήσας ὠρθῶ τῇ φάλαγγι παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἤγεi πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ Ἐθβαίων οἱ μὲν ἔξω μεμενηκότες ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν πόλιν λαβόντες ἑβάδιζον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὸ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Κισσοῦσαν προσαγορευμένην, ἐνθα μυθολογοῦσι τὰς τιθέναι νήπιον εἰ τῆς λοχείας ἀπολούσαι τῶν Διόνυσον· καὶ γὰρ οἴνωπον ἐπιστέλβει τὸ χρῶμα καὶ διανυγῆς καὶ πιεῖν ἥδιστον. οἱ δὲ Κρήσιοι στύρακες οὐ πρόσω περιπεφύκασιν, ἀ τεκμήρια τῆς Ῥαδα-μάνθους αὐτόθι κατοικήσες Ἀλιάρττοι ποιοῦν-ται, καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δεικνύουσιν Ἁλεά καλοῦν-τες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀλκμῆνης μμημείον ἐγγύς· ἐνταῦθα γάρ, ὡς φασιν, ἐκηδεύθη συνοικ-ήσασα Ῥαδαμάνθυι μετὰ τὴν Ἀμφιτύρωνος τελευτήν.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλις Ἐθβαιοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων συντεταγμένοι τέως μὲν ἴσχυροι, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Δύσανδρον ἄμα τοῖς πρῶτοις προσπελάζοντα τῷ τείχει κατείδου, ἐξαιπνής ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας καὶ προσπεσόντες αὐτῶν τε μετὰ τοῦ μάγνως κατεβαλλον καὶ τῶν ἡλικίων ὀλίγων τινῶς· οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι ταχέως ἀνέφυγον πρὸς τὴν φαλάγγα. τῶν δὲ Ἐθβαίων οὐκ ἀνέντων, ἀλλὰ προσκεμένων αὐτοῖς, ἑτράποντο πάντες ἀνὰ τοὺς λόφους φεύγειν, καὶ χίλιοι πίπτουσιν

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night, and succeeded in reaching Haliartus a little before Lysander, and a considerable part of them entered the city. Lysander at first decided to post his army on a hill and wait for Pausanias; then, as the day advanced, being unable to remain inactive, he took his arms, encouraged his allies, and led them along the road in column towards the wall of the city. But those of the Thebans who had remained outside, taking the city on their left, advanced upon the rear of their enemy, at the spring called Cissusa. Here, as the story goes, his nurses bathed the infant Dionysus after his birth; for the water has the colour and sparkle of wine, is clear, and very pleasant to the taste. And not far away the Cretan storax-shrub grows in profusion, which the Haliartians regard as a proof that Rhadamanthus once dwelt there; and they show his tomb, which they call Alea. And near by is also the memorial of Alcmele; for she was buried there, as they say, having lived with Rhadamanthus after the death of Amphitryon.

But the Thebans inside the city, drawn up in battle array with the Haliartians, kept quiet for some time; when, however, they saw Lysander with his foremost troops approaching the wall, they suddenly threw open the gate and fell upon them, and killed Lysander himself with his soothsayer, and a few of the rest; for the greater part of them fled swiftly back to the main body. And when the Thebans made no halt, but pressed hard upon them, the whole force turned to the hills in flight, and a thousand of them were slain. Three hundred of
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αὐτῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ Ὁηβαίων τριακόσιοι πρὸς τὰ τραχέα καὶ καρτερὰ τοῖς πολεμίωσις συνεκπεσόντες. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐν αἰτίᾳ τοῦ λακωνίζειν, ἦν σπουδάζοντες ἀπολύσασθαι τοῖς πολίταις καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀφειδοῦντες ἐν τῇ διόξει παρανάλωθησαν.

XXIX. Τῷ δὲ Παυσανίᾳ τὸ πάθος ἀγγέλλεται καθ' ὁδὸν ἐκ Πλαταίων εἰς Θεσπιᾶς πορευομένῳ καὶ συνταξάμενος ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλίαρτον. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Ὁρασύβουλος ἐκ Θηβῶν ἄγων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Παυσανίου τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποστώνους ἀπαιτεῖν, δυσφοροῦντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἕαυτοις ἡγανόκτων, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσίτον ἐμαρτύραντο μὴ διὰ σπονδῶν ἀναιρεῖσθαι Λύσανδρον, ἀλλὰ δὲ ὀπλῶν περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγωνισμένους καὶ νικήσαντας οὕτω τὸν ἄνδρα θάπτειν, ἤττωμένους δὲ καλὸν ἐνταῦθα κεῖσθαι 450 μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. ταῦτα τῶν πρεσβύτερων λεγόντων ὅροι οἱ Παυσανίας μέγα μὲν ἔργον ὑπερβαλέσθαι μάχῃ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀρτί κεκρατηκότας, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Λυσάνδρου παραπεττώκις, ὡστε χαλεπὴν ἀνεί σπονδῶν καὶ νικῶσιν εἰναι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἔπεμψε κήρυκα καὶ σπεισάμενος ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν 3 ὁπίσω. τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ή πρῶτον κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀροὺς ἐγένοντο τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐν φίλῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ χώρα τῇ Πανοπέων κατέθεσαν, οὔν νῦν τὸ μυθεῖον ἐστὶ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς Χαιρώνιους εἰκ. Δελφῶν πορευομένοις.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς καταυλισμῆς οὖν.
LYSANDER

the Thebans also lost their lives by pursuing their enemies into rough and dangerous places. These had been accused of favouring the Spartan cause, and in their eagerness to clear themselves of this charge in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, they exposed themselves needlessly in the pursuit, and so threw away their lives.¹

XXIX. Tidings of the disaster were brought to Pausanias while he was on the march from Plataea to Thespiae, and putting his army in battle array, he came to Haliartus. Thrasybulus also came from Thebes, leading his Athenians. But when Pausanias was minded to ask for the bodies of the dead under a truce, the elders of the Spartans could not brook it, and were angry among themselves, and coming to the king, they protested that the body of Lysander must not be taken up under cover of a truce, but by force of arms, in open battle for it; and that if they conquered, then they would give him burial, but if they were vanquished, it would be a glorious thing to lie dead with their general. Such were the words of the elders; but Pausanias saw that it would be a difficult matter to conquer the Thebans, flushed as they were with victory, and that the body of Lysander lay near the walls, so that its recovery would be difficult without a truce, even if they were victorious; he therefore sent a herald, and after making a truce, led his forces back. And as soon as they had come beyond the boundary of Boeotia with Lysander's body, they buried it in the friendly soil of their allies, the Panopeans, where his monument now stands, by the road leading from Delphi to Chaeroneia.

Here the army bivouacked; and it is said that a

Λέγεται τινα των Φωκέων ἐτέρῳ μὴ παρατυχόντι τὸν ἁγώνα διηγούμενον, εἰπεῖν ὡς οἱ πολέμοι προσπέσοιεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Δυσάνδρου τὸν Ὄπλιτην 4 ἦδη διαβεβηκότος. θαναμάσαντα δὲ Σπαρτιάτην ἄνδρα τοῦ Δυσάνδρου φίλον ἔρεσθαι τίνα λέγοι τὸν Ὅπλιτην· οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι τούνομα· "Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖ γε," φάναι, "τοὺς πρῶτους ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοι κατέβαλον. τὸ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔδειθρον Ὄπλιτην καλοῦσιν." ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἐκδακρύσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄφευκτον ἐστὶν 5 ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ πεπρωμένον. ἦν γὰρ, ὡς ἐοικε, τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ δεδομένος χρησμὸς ὅτως ἔχων·

"Ὅπλιτην κελάδοντα φυλάξασθαι σε κελεύω γῆς τε δράκων' νῦν δόλων κατόπισθεν ἰόντα. τινὲς δὲ τὸν Ὅπλιτην οὐ πρὸς Ἄλιαρτῳ ἰένα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Κορώνειαν χειμάρρουν εἶναι τῷ Φιλάρφῳ ποταμῷ συμφερόμενον παρὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα πάλαι μὲν Ὅπλιαν, γὰρ δὲ Ἰσόμαντον 6 προσαγορεύσωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀποκτεῖνας τοῦ Δυσάνδρου Ἀλιάρτιος ἄνηρ ὅνομα Νεόχωρος ἐπίσημου εἰχε τῆς ἄσπιδος δράκοντα· καὶ τοῦτο σημαίνειν ὁ χρησμὸς εἰκάζετο. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πόλεμον ἐν Ἰσμηνίῳ γενέσθαι χρησμὸν ἀμα τῆς τε πρὸς Δηλίων μάχης καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἀλιάρτῳ ταύτην ἐκείνης ύστερον ἔτει 7 τριακοστῷ γενομένη προμηνύοντα. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος.

'Εσχατὰν πεφύλαξο λύκους καμάκεσοι δοκεύον  
καὶ λόφον Ὀρχαλίδην, ὑν ἀλώπηξ οὔποτε λειπεί.
LYSANDER

certain Phocian, recounting the action to another
who was not in it, said that the enemy fell upon
them just after Lysander had crossed the Hoplites.
Then a Spartan, who was a friend of Lysander,
asked in amazement what he meant by Hoplites, for
he did not know the name. "Indeed it was there,"
said the Phocian, "that the enemy slew the foremost
of us; for the stream that flows past the city is
called Hoplites." On hearing this, the Spartan
burst into tears, and said that man could not escape
his destiny. For Lysander, as it appears, had received
an oracle running thus:—

"Be on thy guard, I bid thee, against a sounding
Hoplites,
And an earth-born dragon craftily coming behind
thee."

Some, however, say that the Hoplites does not flow
before Haliartus, but is a winter torrent near
Coroneia, which joins the Philarus and then flows
past that city; in former times it was called Hoplias,
but now Isomantus. Moreover, the man of Haliartus
who killed Lysander, Neochorus by name, had a
dragon as emblem on his shield, and to this, it was
supposed, the oracle referred. And it is said that
the Thebans also, during the Peloponnesian war,
received an oracle at the sanctuary of Ismenus which
indicated beforehand not only the battle at Delium,¹
but also this battle at Haliartus, thirty years later.
It ran as follows:—

"When thou huntest the wolf with the spear, watch
closely the border,
Orchalides, too, the hill which foxes never
abandon."

¹ 424 B.C.
τὸν μὲν οὖν περὶ Δήλιον τόπον ἐσχατιὰν προσέπε, καθ’ ὄν η Βοιωτία τῇ Ἀττικῇ σύνορός ἐστιν, ὦρχαλίδην δὲ λόφον, ὃν νῦν Ἀλώπεκον καλοῦσιν, ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἐλικώνα μέρεσι τοῦ Ἀλιάρτου κείμενον.

XXX. Τοιαύτης δὲ τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ τῆς τελευταίας γενομένης παραχρῆμα μὲν οὖν ἦνεγκαν οἱ Σπαρτιάται βαρέως, ὡστε τῷ βασιλεῖ κρίσιν προγράψας θανατικὴν ἢν ὦν ὑποστὰς ἐκείνος εἰς Τεγέαν ἐφυγε, κακεὶ κατεβίωσεν ἱκέτης ἐν τῷ 2 τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πεντὰ τοῦ Δυσάνδρου τελευτήσαντος ἐκκαλυφθεῖσα φανερωτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν ἅρτην, ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ δυνάμεως θεραπείας τε πόλεως καὶ βασιλέως τοσαύτης μηδὲ μικροῦ ἐπιλαμπρύναντος τὸν οἶκον εἰς χρημάτων λόγον, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, φιλίλλου ἐπαινοῦντι πιστεύσειν ἂν τὸν ἢ ψέγοντι. 3 ψέγει γὰρ ἡδιὸν ἢ ἐπαινεῖ. χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον Ἐφορὸς φησιν ἀντιλογίας τῶν συμμαχικῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένης, καὶ τὰ γράμματα διασκέψασθαι δέχασαν ἃ παρὰ ἠαυτῷ κατέσχεν ὁ Δύσαινδρος, ἔθεθεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν Ἀγησίλαον. εὐρόντα δὲ τῷ βιβλίῳ, ἐν φιλογράμμων ἢν ὁ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας λόγος, ὡς χρή τῶν Εὐρυποντιδῶν καὶ Ἀγιαδῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφελομένους εἰς μέσον θείων καὶ ποιεῖτο τὴν αἰρέσιν ἐκ τῶν 4 ἄριστων, ὀρμήσαι μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας τῶν λόγων ἔξεγενεις καὶ παραδεικνύοι τὸν Δύσαινδρον, οἶος ἄν πολίτης διαλάθοι, Δακρατίδαν δὲ, ἀνδρα 451 318
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Now by "border," the god meant the region about Delium, where Boeotia is conterminous with Attica; and by Orchalides, the hill which is now called Alopecus, or Fox-hill, in the parts of Haliartus which stretch towards Mount Helicon.

XXX. Now that Lysander had met with such an end, at the outset the Spartans were so indignant about it that they summoned the king to trial for his life; but he evaded it, and fled to Tegea, where he spent the rest of his days as a suppliant in the sanctuary of Athena. For the poverty of Lysander, which was discovered at his death, made his excellence more apparent to all, since from the vast wealth and power in his hands, and from the great homage paid him by cities and the Great King, he had not, even in the slightest degree, sought to amass money for the aggrandizement of his family. This is the testimony of Theopompus, who is more to be trusted when he praises than when he blames; for he takes more pleasure in blaming than in praising. But after some time had passed, according to Ephorus, some dispute arose at Sparta with her allies, and it became necessary to inspect the writings which Lysander had kept by him; for which purpose Agesilaüs went to his house. And when he found the book containing the speech on the constitution,¹ which argued that the kingship ought to be taken from the Eurypontidae and Agiadae and made accessible to all Spartans alike, and that the choice should be made from the best of these, he was eager to produce the speech before his countrymen, and show them what the real character of Lysander's citizenship had been. But Lacratidas, a prudent man, and

¹ Cf. chapter xxv. 1.
φρόνιμον καὶ τότε προεστῶτα τῶν ἐφόρων, ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ εἶπεῖν ὡς δεῖ μὴ ἀνορύττειν τὸν Δύσανδρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτῆς συγκατορύττειν οὕτω συντεταγμένον πιθανῶς καὶ πανούργως.
5 Οὐ μήν ἀλλὰ τάς τε ἄλλας τιμὰς ἀπέδοσαν αὐτῆς τελευτήσαντι, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσαμένους τάς θυγατέρας, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν τοῦ Δυσανδροῦ πένητος εὐρεθέντος ἀπειπαμένους ἔξωμίσαν, ὅτι πλοῦσιον μὲν νομίζοντες ἑθεράπευον, δίκαιον δὲ καὶ χρηστὸν ἐκ τῆς πενίας ἐπιγνώντες ἐγκατέλιπον. ἦν γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν Ὁσιάτῃ καὶ ἁγαμίῳ δίκη καὶ ὄψιγμοι καὶ κακογαμίῳ ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπήγον μάλιστα τοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ οἰκεῖων τοῖς πλουσίοις κηδεύοντας. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Δυσανδροῦ οὕτως ἱστορήσαμεν ἔχοντα.
LYSANDER

at that time the principal ephor, held Agesilaüs back, saying that they ought not to dig Lysander up again, but rather to bury the speech along with him, since it was composed with such a subtle persuasiveness.

However, they paid him many honours at his death. In particular, they imposed a fine upon the men who had engaged to marry his daughters, and then, after Lysander's death, when he was discovered to be poor, had renounced the engagement. The reason given for the fine was that the men had paid court to Lysander while they thought him rich, but when his poverty showed them that he was a just and good man, they forsook him. For there was, as it appears, a penalty at Sparta not only for not marrying at all, and for a late marriage, but also for a bad marriage; and to this last they subjected those especially who sought alliance with the rich, instead of with the good and with their own associates. Such, then, are the accounts we have found given of Lysander.
SULLA
ΣΥΛΛΑΣ

1. Δευκλιος δε Κορυφίλιος Σύλλας γένει μὲν ἃν ἐκ πατρικίων, οὐς εὐπατρίδας ἂν τις εἴποι, τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ λέγουσι Ρουφίνου ὑπατεύσαι, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπιφανεστέραν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀτιμίαν. εὐρέθη γὰρ ἄργυριον κολίδου κεκτημένος ύπερ δέκα λίτρας, τού νόμου μὴ διδόντος· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέπεσεν. οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνων ἦδη ταπεινά πράττοντες διετέλεσαν, αὐτὸς τε Σύλλας ἐν ὦκ ἀφθόνοις ἑτράφῃ τοὺς πατρῴοις.

2. γενόμενος δὲ μειράκιων ὅσιε παρ᾽ ἐτέρους ἐνοίκιον οὐ πολὺ τελῶν, ὡς ὑστέρον ὤνειδίζετο παρ᾽ ἄξιαν εὐτυχεῖν δοκῶν. σεμνυνομένῳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μεγαληγοροῦντι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Διονύσεωστείαν λέγεται τις εἰσεῖν τῶν καλῶν τε κάγαθων ἀνδρῶν, "Καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔσῃς σὺ χρηστός, δς τοῦ πατρός σοι" καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔτι τῶν βιῶν ἐν ἡθεσιν ὀρθοῖς καὶ καθαροῖς μενόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκεκλικότων καὶ παραδεδεγμένων τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας ζῆλον, εἰς ἰσον ὄμως ὦνειδος ἐτίθεντο τοὺς ὑπάρχουσαν εὐπορίαν ἀπολέσαντας καὶ τοὺς πενίαν πατρῷαν μὴ διά-4 φυλάξαντας. υστεροῦ ὃ δὲ ἦδη κρατοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτεύνοντος, ἀπελευθερικὸς ἀνθρώπως, δοκῶν κρύπτειν ἐνα τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ κατακρημνίζεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο μέλλων, ὦνειδίσε
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I. Lucius Cornelius Sulla belonged to a patrician, or noble, family, and one of his ancestors, Rufinus, is said to have been consul, although he was not so conspicuous for this honour as for the dishonour which he incurred. For he was found to be possessed of more than ten pounds of silver plate, contrary to the law, and was for this reason expelled from the senate. His posterity became at once obscure, and continued so, nor did Sulla himself enjoy a wealthy parentage. When he was a youth, he lived in lodgings, at a low price, and this was afterwards cast in his teeth when men thought him unduly prosperous. For instance, we are told that when he was putting on boastful airs after his campaign in Libya, a certain nobleman said to him: "How canst thou be an honest man, when thy father left thee nothing, and yet thou art so rich?" For although the Romans of that time no longer retained their ancient purity and uprightness of life, but had degenerated, and yielded to the appetite for luxury and extravagance, they nevertheless held in equal opprobrium those who lost an inherited wealth and those who forsook an ancestral poverty. And afterwards, when he had at last become absolute in power, and was putting many to death, a freedman, who was thought to be concealing one of the proscribed, and was therefore to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock,
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tον Σύλλαν διητόντες νέων, ἐν μιᾷ συνοικίᾳ διητόντες, φέροντες ἐνοικίαν αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν ἀνω δισχιλίων νοῦμοι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῶν ὑποκάτω τρισχιλίων, ὥστε τῆς τύχης αὐτῶν τὸ μεταξὺ χιλίων εἶναι νοῦμοι, οἷς πεντήκοντα καὶ διακο-
σίας ὑγείας Ἀττικὸς δύνανται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστοροῦσι περὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τοῦ Σύλλα τύχης.

II. Τοῦ δὲ σώματος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο εἴδος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδριάτων φαίνεται, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὄμματων γλαυκότητα δεινῶς πικρὰν καὶ ἄκρατων οὔσαν ἡ χρόα τοῦ προσώπου φοβερωτέραν ἐποίει προσ-
ιδεῖν. ἐξήνθει γὰρ τὸ ἐρύθημα τραχὺ καὶ σποράδην καταμεμηγμένον τῇ λευκότητι, πρὸς ὁ καὶ τοῦ-
νομα λέγουσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς χρόας ἐπίθετον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γεφυρεῖστον ἐπεσκωπέ τις εἰς
tούτο ποιήσας:

συκάμινον ἐσθ' ὁ Σύλλας ἀλφίτω πεπασμένον.

2 τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις τῶν τεκμηρίων οὐκ ἀτοπών ἐστὶ
χρῆσθαι περὶ ἄνδρός, ἀν ὡς τῶν φιλοσκώμων
φύσει γεγονότα λέγοντα, ὥστε νέον μὲν ὄντα καὶ
ἀδὸξον ἔτι μετὰ μίμων καὶ γελωτόποιον διαι-
τάσθαι καὶ συνακολαστάειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ κύριος
ἀπάντων κατέστη, συναγαγόντα τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς
cαὶ θεάτρου τοὺς ἵταμωτάτους ὁσμέραι πίνειν
cαὶ διαπληκτίζεσθαι τοῖς σκύμασι, τοῦ
tὸ ἔγραφον ἀφόρτερα πράπτειν δοκοῦντα καὶ πρὸς τῷ
καταιχύνειν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλὰ τῶν
3 ἀδιαμένων ἐπιμελείας προϊέμενον. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τῷ
Σύλλα περὶ δεῖπνον ὅτι χρῆσασθαι σπουδαῖον

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cast it in his teeth that they had long lived together in one lodging house, himself renting the upper rooms at two thousand sesterces,\(^1\) and Sulla the lower rooms at three thousand. The difference in their fortunes, therefore, was only a thousand sesterces, which are equivalent to two hundred and fifty Attic drachmas. Such, then, is the account we find of Sulla’s earlier fortune.

II. His personal appearance, in general, is given by his statues; but the gleam of his gray eyes, which was terribly sharp and powerful, was rendered even more fearful by the complexion of his face. This was covered with coarse blotches of red, interspersed with white. For this reason, they say, his surname was given him because of his complexion, and it was in allusion to this that a scurrilous jester at Athens made the verse:

"Sulla is a mulberry sprinkled o'er with meal."

Nor is it out of place to mention such testimonies in the case of a man said to have been by nature so fond of raillery, that when he was still young and obscure he spent much time with actors and buffoons and shared their dissolute life; and when he had made himself supreme master, he would daily assemble the most reckless stage and theatre folk to drink and bandy jests with them, although men thought that he disgraced his years, and although he not only dishonoured his high office, but neglected much that required attention. For when Sulla was once at table, he refused to be serious at all, but,

\(^1\) In Sulla’s time the \textit{sestertius} was a silver coin worth between two and three pence, or about five cents. The Attic \textit{drachma} was a silver coin worth about eight pence, or twenty cents.
οὐδὲν, ἀλλὶ ἐνεργὸς ὅν καὶ σκυθρωπότερος παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνου, ἀθρόαν ἐλάμβανε μεταβολήν ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐαυτὸν εἰς συνουσίαν καταβάλοι καὶ πότον, ὡστε μμῳδοῖς καὶ ὀρχισταῖς τιθασὸς εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντευξίν ὑποχείριος καὶ κατάντης. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνέσεως έοικε γεγονέναι νόσημα καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτας εὐχέρεια καὶ ρύσις αὐτοῦ τῆς φιλιδονίας, ἢς οὐδὲ γηράσας ἐπαύσατο, Μητροβίου δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς τινος ἔρων διετέλεσεν ἐτὶ νέος ὅν. 1 καὶ συνήνησεν αὐτῷ τὸ τουοῦτον ἀρξάμενον γὰρ ἐρᾶν κοινῆς μέν, εὐπόρου δὲ γυναικὸς, ὅνομα Νικοπόλεως, καὶ διὰ συνήθειαν καὶ χάριν, ἣν ἀφ’ ὀρας εἴχεν, εἰς ἐρωμένου σχῆμα περιελθὼν, ἀπελεύθη κηρούμος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου τελευτώσης. ἐκληρούμησε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητριμάν, ἀγαπηθεὶς ὠστε νῦς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ μετρίως μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦτων εὐπόρησεν.

III. Ἀποδείχθεις δὲ ταμίας ὑπατεύοντι Μαρίῳ τὴν πρώτην ὑπατείαν, συνεξέπλευσεν εἰς Διβύνην πολεμήσων Ἰωγόρθαν. γενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τά τε ἄλλα παρεῖχεν ἐαυτὸν εὐδόκιμον, καὶ καιρῷ παραπεσόντι χρησάμενος εὐ φίλον ἐποίησα τὸν τῶν Νομάδων βασιλέα Βόκχου. πρεσβευτᾶς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ληστῆριον Νομαδικοῦ ἐκφυγόντας ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονθεὶς, δώρα καὶ 2 πομπῆς ἀσφαλῆ παρασχον ἀπέστειλεν. ὁ δὲ Βόκχος ἐτύχεσεν μὲν ἔτι γε πάλαι γαμβρὸν ὅντα μισῶν καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Ἰωγόρθαν, τότε δὲ ἡττημένῳ καὶ πεφευγότι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύων ἐκάλει τῶν Σύλλαν, δὲ ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα βουλό-

1 ἐτὶ νέος ὅν before this phrase Bekker assumes a lacuna in the text; Sintenis would transpose it to follow ἀρξάμενος γὰρ.
although at other times he was a man of business and wore an austere look, he underwent a complete change as soon as he betook himself to good-fellowship and drinking, so that comic singers and dancers found him anything but ferocious, and ready to listen and yield to every request. It was this laxity, as it seems, which produced in him a diseased propensity to amorous indulgence and an unrestrained voluptuousness, from which he did not refrain even in his old age, but continued his youthful love for Metrobius, an actor.\(^1\) He also had the following experience. He began by loving a common but wealthy woman, Nicopolis by name, and such was the charm of his intimacy and youthful grace that in the end he was beloved by her, and was left her heir when she died. He also inherited the property of his step-mother, who loved him as her own son. By these means he became moderately well off.

III. Having been appointed quaestor to Marius in his first consulship,\(^2\) he sailed with him to Libya, to make war upon Jugurtha. He was put in charge of the camp, and won great credit for himself, especially by improving a favourable opportunity and making a friend of Bocchus, the king of Numidia. For he hospitably entertained ambassadors of the king, who had escaped from Numidian robbers, and sent them on their way with gifts and a safe escort. Now Bocchus had for a long time hated and feared his son-in-law, Jugurtha, who had been defeated and had fled to him for safety, and was then plotting against him. He therefore invited Sulla to come

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\(^1\) The sense of the obscure Greek is clear from chapter xxxvi. 1 fn. Capps suggests \(\omega s \ldots \tau o\). 
\(^2\) 107 B.C.
μενος την σύλληψιν και παράδοσιν τού Ἰογόρθα γενέσθαι ἢ δι’ αὐτοῦ, κοινωσάμενος δὲ τῷ Μάριῳ καὶ λαβὼν στρατιώτας ὁλίγους ὁ Σύλλας τὸν μέγιστον ὑπέδυ κάινυνον, ὅτι βαρβάρω καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀπίστω πιστεύσας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν ἕτερον ἐαυτὸν ἐνεχείρισεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ὁ Βόκχος ἀμφότερον κύριος γενόμενος, καὶ καταστήσας ἐαυτὸν εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ παραστούν- 
θέσαι τὸν ἕτερον, καὶ πολλὰ διενεχθεῖς τῇ γνώμῃ, 
tέλος ἐκύρωσε τὴν πρώτην προδοσίαν καὶ παρέ- 
δωκε τῷ Σύλλᾳ τὸν Ἰογόρθαν. ὃ μὲν οὖν θρι- 
ambeivn έτι τούτῳ Μάριος ἦν, ἡ δὲ δάξα τοῦ 
κατορθόματος, ἦν ὁ Μάριον φθόνοις Σύλλα 
προσετίθει, παρελύπει τὸν Μάριον ἰσυχῇ. καὶ 
γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας φύσει τε μεγάλαν χος ὡν καὶ 
tότε πρῶτον ἐκ βίου ταπείνω καὶ ἀγώνωσ ἐν 
tοῖς λόγοι γεγονὼς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ τοῦ 
τιμᾶσθαι γενόμενος, εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας προῆλ- 
thεν ὡστε γλυφάμενος ἐν δακτυλίῳ φορεῖν εἰκόνα 
tῆς πράξεως, καὶ ταύτῃ γε χρώμενος ὡεὶ διετέ- 
λεσεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ γραφὴ Βόκχος μὲν παραδιούσ, 
Σύλλας δὲ παραλαμβάνων τὸν Ἰογόρθαν.

IV. Ὁνὴ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τῶν Μάριον ἐτι δὲ 
ηγούμενος ἐλάττονα τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι τὸν Σύλλαν, 
ἐχρῆτο πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, τὸ μὲν δεύτερον 
ὑπατεύον πρεσβευτή, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χιλιάρχω, καὶ 
pολλὰ δι’ ἐκεῖνον τῶν χρησίμων κατωρθοῦτο. 
πρεσβεύων τε γὰρ ἠγεμόνα Τεκτοσάγων Κόπιλ- 
lων εἶλε, καὶ χιλιαρχῶν μέγα καὶ πολυώνθρωπον 
ἐθνος Μαρσούς ἐπεισε φίλους γενέσθαι καὶ συμ-

2 μάχον Ῥωμαίοιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὸν Μάριον 453
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to him, wishing to have the seizure and surrender of Jugurtha effected through Sulla rather than through himself. Sulla imparted the matter to Marius, and taking with him a few soldiers, underwent the greatest peril; he put faith in a Barbarian, and one who was faithless towards his own relations, and to secure his surrender of another, placed himself in his hands. However, Bocchus, now that he had both in his power, and had laid himself under the necessity of proving false to one or the other, although he vacillated long, finally decided upon his original betrayal, and handed Jugurtha over to Sulla. It is true that the one who celebrated a triumph for this was Marius, but those who envied him attributed the glory of the success to Sulla, and this secretly annoyed Marius. And indeed Sulla himself was naturally vainglorious, and now that he had for the first time emerged from his lowly and obscure condition and become of some account among his countrymen, and was enjoying a taste of honour, he was arrogant enough to have a representation of his exploit engraved on a seal-ring which he wore, and continued to use it ever after. The device was, Bocchus delivering, and Sulla receiving, Jugurtha.

IV. Of course this distressed Marius; but since he considered Sulla to be beneath his envy, he used him in his campaigns, during his second consulship as legate, or lieutenant, and during his third as military tribune, and through his agency performed many successful services. For instance, as legate, Sulla captured Copillus, chieftain of the Tectosages; and as tribune, he persuaded the great and populous nation of the Marsi to become friends and allies of Rome. But perceiving that Marius was vexed with
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1. In his Memoirs. Cf. chapter vi. 5.
2. Phœnissae, 532 ff. (Kirchhoff).

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him for these successes, and that he was no longer glad to give him opportunities for action, but opposed his advancement, he attached himself to Catulus, the colleague of Marius in the consulship, a worthy man, but too sluggish for arduous contests. By him he was entrusted with the leading and most important enterprises, and rose to power and fame. He not only subdued in war a large part of the Barbarians of the Alps, but when provisions ran low, he undertook the task of furnishing them, and made them so abundant that the soldiers of Catulus lived in plenty, and had some to spare for those of Marius. At this, as Sulla himself says,\(^1\) Marius was greatly distressed. So slight and puerile were the first foundations and occasions of that hatred between them, which afterwards led them through civil bloodshed and irreparable discords to tyranny and the confusion of the whole state. This proved that Euripides was a wise man, and acquainted with the distempers of civil government, when he exhorted men to beware of ambition as a deity most injurious and fatal to its votaries.\(^2\)

V. Sulla now thought that the reputation which he had won in war was sufficient to justify political activities, and therefore at once exchanged military service for public life,\(^3\) offered himself as a candidate for the city praetorship, and was defeated. The responsibility for his defeat, however, he lays upon the populace. They knew, he says, about his friendship with Bocchus, and expected that if he should be made aedile before his praetorship, he would treat them to splendid hunting scenes and

\(^3\) He returned to Rome in 101 B.C., and was elected praetor in 93 B.C.
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πρὰ καὶ Διμυκῶν θηρίων ἀγώνας, ἔτερους ἀποδείξει στρατηγοὺς ὡς αὐτὸν ἁγορανομεῖν ἀναγκάζοντας. ἐντείκε δὲ τὴν ἄληθή τῆς ἀποτεύχεισι αἰτίαν οὐχ ὁμολογῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐμαυτῷ γὰρ κατόπιν ἔτυχε τῆς στρατηγίας, τοῦ δῆμου τὸ μὲν τὶ θεραπεία, τὸ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι προσαγαγόμενος. διὸ δὴ καὶ στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πρὸς Καῖσαρα μετ' ὀργῆς εἰπόντος ὡς χρῆσται τῇ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔξουσίᾳ, γελάσας ὁ Καῖσαρ, "Ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰδίαν νομίζεις; ἔχεις γὰρ αὐτὴν πριγγεῖνος."

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατηγίαν εἰς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀποστέλλεται, τὸν μὲν ἐμφανῆ λόγον ἔχων πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν Ἀριστεράζανην καταγαγεῖν, αἰτίαν δὲ ἄληθή Μιθριδάτην ἐπισχεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦντα καὶ περιβαλλόμενον ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ ἔλαττονα τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης. ἰδίαν μὲν οὖν δύναμιν οὐ πολλὴν ἐπήγετο, χρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμοις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν Καππαδοκῶν, πλείονας δ' αὕτης Ἀρμενίων προσβοθοῦντας ἀποκτείνας, Γόρδιον μὲν ἔξῆλασεν, Ἀριστεράζανην δὲ ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

4 Διατρίβοντι δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐντυγχάνει Πάρθος ὁ Ὀρόβαζος, Ἀρσάκον βασιλέως πρεσβευτῆς, οὗτος πρῶτον ἀλλήλους ἐπιμεμομενοὺς τῶν γενῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς μεγάλης δοκεῖ Σύλλα τύχης γενέσθαι, τὸ πρῶτον Ὀρμαίων ἐκείνος Πάρθους συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας δεομένους διὰ λόγων ἔλθειν. ὅτε καὶ λέγεται
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combats of Libyan wild beasts, and therefore appointed others to the praetorship, in order to force him into the aedileship. But subsequent events would seem to show that Sulla does not confess the real reason for his failure. For in the following year he obtained the praetorship, partly because he was subservient to the people, and partly because he used money to win their support. And so it happened that, during his praetorship, when he angrily told Caesar\(^1\) that he would use his own authority against him, Caesar laughed and said: “You do well to consider the office your own, for you bought it.”

After his praetorship, he was sent out to Cappadocia, ostensibly to reinstate Ariobarzanes, but really to check the restless activities of Mithridates, who was adding to his dominion and power fully as much as he had inherited. Accordingly, he took out with him no large force of his own, but made use of the allies, whom he found eager to serve him, and after slaying many of the Cappadocians themselves, and yet more of the Armenians who came to their aid, he drove out Gordius, and made Ariobarzanes king again.

As he lingered on the banks of the Euphrates, he received a visit from Orobazus, a Parthian, who came as an ambassador from king Arsaces, although up to this time the two nations had held no intercourse with one another. This also is thought to have been part of Sulla’s great good fortune, that he should be the first Roman with whom the Parthians held conference when they wanted alliance and friendship.

\(^1\) Not the dictator, who was only seven years old at this time.
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treiς δίφους προθέμενος, τὸν μὲν Ἀριστοβαρζάνης, τὸν δὲ Ὀροβάζῳ, τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ, μέσος ἀμφοῖν 5 καθεξόμενος χρηματίζειν. ἐφ' ὧν τὸν μὲν Ὀροβάζον ὑστερον ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλείας ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ Σύλλαν οἱ μὲν ἐπήνεχαν ἐντυρφήσαντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, οἱ δὲ ὡς φορτικὸν ἦτιάσαντο καὶ ἀκαίρως φιλότιμου. ἰστορεῖται δὲ τις ἄνηρ τῶν μετὰ Ὀροβάζου καταβεβηκότων, Χαλδαιός, εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σύλλα πρόσωπον ἀπιδὼν καὶ ταῖς κυνήσει τῆς τε διανοιάς καὶ τοῦ σώμα- 6 τοῦ οὐ παρεργοῖς ἐπιστήσας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῆς τέχνης ὑποθέσεις τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκεψάμενος, εἶπεν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον εἰδὴ τούτον τὸν ἄνδρα μέγιστον γενέσθαι, θαναμάζειν δὲ καὶ νῦν πῶς ἄνεχεται μὴ πρῶτος δυν ἀπάντων. ἀναχωρήσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ 454 δίκην ἔλαχε δάφρων Κηνοσφόνας, ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα συνειλοχότοι παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἐκ φίλης καὶ συμμάχου βασιλείας. οὐ μὴν ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέστη τῆς κατηγορίας.

VI. Ἡ μέντοι πρὸς Μάριον αὐτῷ στάσις ἀνερρυπιζομεν ἐκεῖνῃ ὑπόθεσιν λαβοῦσα τὴν Βόκχου φιλοτιμίαν, ὃς τὸν τε δήμον ἄμα θεραπεύσῃ ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ Σύλλα χαριζόμενος ἀνέθηκε εἰκόνας1 ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ τροπαιοφόρους καὶ παρ' αὐταῖς χρυσῶν Ἠσυχθαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ Σύλλα παραδίδο- 2 μενον. ἐφ' ὧν τοῦ Μαρίου βαρβυμομένου καὶ καθαρεύν ἐπιχειροῦντος, ἐτέρων δὲ ἄμυνεον τῷ Σύλλα, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ὕπτω διακεκαυμένης υπ' ἀμφότερον, ὁ συμμαχικος πόλεμος πάλαι τυφό-

1 eikōnas Coraës, Sinentis, and Bekker, with the MSS. Sinentis adopts Cobet's correction to Nikas (Victories), to agree with Marius, xxxii. 2.

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On this occasion, too, it is said that he ordered three chairs to be set, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and one for himself, and that he sat between them both and gave them audience. For this the king of Parthia afterwards put Orobazus to death; and while some people commended Sulla for the airs which he assumed with the Barbarians, others accused him of vulgarity and ill-timed arrogance. It is also recorded that a certain man in the retinue of Orobazus, a Chaldaean, after looking Sulla intently in the face, and studying carefully the movements of his mind and body, and investigating his nature according to the principles of his peculiar art, declared that this man must of necessity become the greatest in the world, and that even now the wonder was that he consented not to be first of all men. When Sulla came back to Rome, however, Censorinus brought suit against him for bribery, alleging that he had collected large sums of money illegally from a friendly and allied kingdom. However, Censorinus did not put in an appearance at the trial, but dropped his impeachment.

VI. Moreover, Sulla's quarrel with Marius broke out afresh on being supplied with fresh material by the ambition of Bocchus, who, desiring to please the people at Rome, and at the same time to gratify Sulla, dedicated on the Capitol some images bearing trophies, and beside them gilded figures representing Jugurtha being surrendered by Bocchus to Sulla. Thereupon Marius was very angry, and tried to have the figures taken down, but others were minded to aid Sulla in opposing this, and the city was all but in flames with their dispute, when the Social war,\(^1\)

\(^1\) 90–89 B.C., following the revolt of Rome's Italian allies.
μενος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναλάμψας τότε τὴν στάσιν ἐπέσχεν. ἐν τούτῳ, μεγίστῳ καὶ ποικιλώτατῳ γενομένῳ καὶ πλείστα κακά καὶ βαρυτάτους παρασχόντι κινδύνους Ρωμαίοις, Μάριος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποδείξας μέγα δυνηθές ἦλεγχε τὴν πολεμικὴν ἀρετὴν ἀκμῆς καὶ ῥώμης δεομένην, Σύλλας δὲ πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου δόξαν ἐσχεν ἦγεμόνος μεγάλου μὲν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, μεγίστου δὲ παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις, εὐτυχεστάτου δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπαθε ταύτῳ Τιμόθεῳ τῷ τοῦ Κόνωνος, ὅσ, εἰς τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ τὰ κατορθώματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιθεμένων καὶ γραφόντων ἐν πίναξι κοιμώμενον ἐκεῖνον, τὴν δὲ Τύχην δικτύῳ τὰς πόλεις περιβάλλουσαν, ἀγροικιζόμενος καὶ χαλεπαίνων πρὸς τοὺς ταύτα ποιοῦντας ὡς ἀποστερούμενος υπ’ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεις δόξης, ἐφ’ ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δήμον, ἐπανήκων ἐκ στρατείας εὑ κεχωρηκέναι δοκούσης, ἧ’ Ἀλλὰ ταύτης γε τῆς στρατείας οὐδέν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τῇ τύχῃ μέτεστι.” πρὸς Τιμόθεου μὲν οὖν φασίν οὕτως φανέντα φιλότιμον ἀντιμειρακίευεσθαι τὸ δαίμονι, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐτί πράξαι λαμπρῶν, ἀλλὰ ὁλος ἀποτυγχάνοντα ταῖς πράξεις καὶ προσκρούοντα τῷ δήμῳ τέλος ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πόλεως. Σύλλας δὲ οὐ μόνον ἡδέως προσιέμενος τὸν τοιούτον εὐδαιμονισμὸν καὶ ξέλουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναύξων καὶ συνεπιθεῖαξων τὰ πραττόμενα, τῆς τύχης ἐξηπτεύετο, εἰτε κόμπῳ χρώμενοι εἰ’ οὕτως ἔχων τῇ δόξῃ πρὸς τὸ θείον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι
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which had long been smouldering, blazed up against the city and put a stop for the time being to the quarrel. In this war, which proved of the greatest moment and most varied fortunes, and brought innumerable mischiefs and the gravest perils upon the Romans, Marius was unable to render any great service, and proved that military excellence requires a man’s highest strength and vigour. Sulla, on the other hand, did much that was memorable, and achieved the reputation of a great leader among his fellow-citizens, that of the greatest of leaders among his friends, and that of the most fortunate even among his enemies. But he did not feel about this as Timotheus the son of Conon did, who, when his adversaries ascribed his successes to Fortune, and had him represented in a painting as lying asleep, while Fortune cast her net about the cities, was rudely angry with those who had done this, because, as he thought, they were robbing him of the glory due to his exploits, and said to the people once, on returning from a campaign in which he was thought to have been successful: “In this campaign, at least, men of Athens, Fortune has no share.” Upon Timotheus, then, who had shown himself so covetous of honour, the deity is said to have requited his youthful petulance, so that from that time on he did nothing brilliant, but miscarried in all his undertakings, gave offence to the people, and was finally banished the city; whereas Sulla not only accepted with pleasure such felicitations and admiration, but actually joined in magnifying the aid of Heaven in what he did, and gave the credit of it to Fortune, either out of boastfulness, or because he had such a belief in the divine agency. For in his Memoirs he writes
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γέγραφεν δὴ τῶν καλῶς αὐτῷ βεβουλευσθαί δοκοῦντων αἶ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀποτολμώμεναι πράξεις ἐπιττον εἰς ἀμείων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ δὴ ὅπου φησὶ πρὸς τύχην εὐ πεφυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς πόλεμον, τῇ τύχῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς πλέον ἔοικε νέμειν καὶ ὅλως ἐαυτὸν τοῦ δαίμονος ποιεῖν, ὡς γε καὶ τῆς πρὸς Μέτελλον ὁμονοίας, ἵσοτιμον ἄνδρα καὶ κηδεσσήν, εὐτυχίαν τινὰ θείαν αἰτιᾶταν πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ πράγματα παρέξειν ἐπίδοξον ὅντα πρατήτατον ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ γενέσθαι τῆς 6 ἀρχῆς. ἔτι δὲ Δευκόλλῳ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, ὅπως ἐκείνη τὴν γραφήν ἀνατέθεικε, παρατείνει μηδὲν ὑπὸς ἡγεῖσθαι βέβαιον ὡς ὁ τι ἄν αὐτῷ προστάξῃ νῦκτωρ τὸ δαίμονον. ἐκπεμπομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον ἱστορεῖ χάσμα τῆς γῆς μέγα γενέσθαι περὶ Δαβέρνην ἐκ δὲ τούτου πῦρ ἀναβλύσαι πολὺ καὶ φλόγα λαμπρὰν στηρίσαι πρὸς τὸν 7 οὐρανόν. εἶπεν δὴ καὶ τοὺς μάντεις ὡς ἄνὴρ ἀγάθος ὑψεῖ διάφορος καὶ περιττὸς ἀρξάς ἀπαλλάξει τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς τὰς παρούσας. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι φησιν ὁ Σύλλας: τῆς μὲν γὰρ ὑψεως ἵδιον εἶναι τὸ περὶ τὴν κόμην χρυσωπὸν, ἀρετὴν δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι μαρτυρῶν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ πράξεις καλῶς ὑπὸ καὶ μεγάλας. ταῦτα μὲν ὅν τερ σής θειότητος.

Τὸν δὲ ἄλλον τρόπον ἀνώμαλος τις ἔοικε γεγονέναι καὶ διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ἀφελέσθαι πολλά, χαρίσασθαι πλείονα, τιμῆσαι παραλόγως, παραλόγως ἐφυβρίσαι, θεραπεύειν ὅποιον δέοιτο,
that, of the undertakings which men thought well-advised, those upon which he had boldly ventured, not after deliberation, but on the spur of the moment, turned out for the better. And further, from what he says about his being well endowed by nature for Fortune rather than for war, he seems to attribute more to Fortune than to his own excellence, and to make himself entirely the creature of this deity, since he accounts even his concord with Metellus, a man his equal in rank, and a relative by marriage, a piece of divine felicity; for whereas he expected much annoyance from him as a colleague in office, he found him most obliging. And still further, in the dedication of his Memoirs to Lucullus, he advises him to deem nothing so secure as what the divine power enjoins upon him in his dreams. And he relates that when he was dispatched with an army to the Social war, a great chasm in the earth opened near Lavenna, from which a great quantity of fire burst forth and a bright flame towered up towards the heavens; whereupon the soothsayers declared that a brave man, of rare courage and surpassing appearance, was to take the government in hand and free the city from its present troubles. And Sulla says that he himself was this man, for his golden head of hair gave him a singular appearance, and as for bravery, he was not ashamed to testify in his own behalf, after such great and noble deeds as he had performed. So much, then, regarding his attitude towards the divine powers.

In other respects he seems to have been of very uneven character, and at variance with himself; he robbed much, but gave more; bestowed his honours unexpectedly, as unexpectedly his insults; fawned on
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θρύπτεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους, ὅστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι πότερον ὑπερττης φύσει μᾶλλον ἢ κόλαξ γέγονε.

8 τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ἄνωμαλίαν, ἐξ ὁδὸν ἐτυχεν αὐτῶν ἀποτυμπανίζοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶς φέροντος, καὶ διαλαττομένου μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις μετὰ εὐκολίας, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ φαύλα προσκρούσματα σφαγαῖς καὶ δημεύσεσιν οὐσιῶν μετιόντως, οὕτως ἄν τις διαιτήσειεν ὡς φύσει μὲν ὄργην χαλεπὸν ὄντα καὶ τιμωρητικόν, ὑφιέμενον δὲ τῆς πικρίας λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. ἐν αὐτῷ γε τούτῳ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ στρατηγικών ἄνδρα πρεσβευτὴν, Ἀλβίων ὄνομα, ξύλωι καὶ λίθωι διαχρησάμενον, παρῆλθε καὶ οὐκ ἐπεξήλθεν ἀδίκημα τοσοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνύόμενος διεδίδον λόγον ὡς προσθυμοτέροις διὰ τούτο χρήσοιτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἰσομένος τὸ ἀμάρτημα δι’ ἀνθραγαθίας. τῶν δ’ ἐγκαλοῦντων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν, ἀλλὰ ἦδη καταλύσαι Μάριον διανοούμενος καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συμ- μάχους πολέμου τέλος ἔχειν δοκοῦντος ἀποδει- χθῆναι στρατηγός ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἐθεράπευε τὴν υφ’ ἐαυτῷ στρατιῶν.

10 Καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπατός μὲν ἀπο- δείκνυται μετὰ Κοῖντον Πομπηίου, πεντήκοντα ἐτή γεγονός, γαμεὶ δὲ γὰρ οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι Και- κιλίαν τὴν Μετέλλου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. ἐφ’ ὡς πολλὰ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἦδον οἱ δημοτικοὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν πρῶτων ἐνεμέσων, οὐκ ἂξιον ἠγούμενοι τῆς γυναικὸς δὲ ἂξιον ὑπατείας ἐκρίναν,

1 In 88 B.C.
2 In the seventy-seventh, one of the lost books.
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those he needed, but gave himself airs towards those who needed him; so that one cannot tell whether he was more inclined by nature to disdain or flattery. For as regards the irregularity of his punishments, cudgelling to death as he did on any chance grounds, and again gently submitting to the greatest wrongs; readily open to reconciliation after the most irreparable injuries, but visiting small and insignificant offences with death and confiscation of goods; here one might decide that he was naturally of a stern and revengeful temper, but relaxed his severity out of calculating regard for his interests. In this very Social war, for example, when his soldiers with clubs and stones did to death a legate, a man of praetorian dignity, Albinus by name, he passed over without punishment this flagrant crime, and solemnly passed the word about that he would find his men more ready and willing for the war on account of this transgression, since they would try to atone for it by their bravery. To those who censured the crime he paid no heed, but purposing already to put down the power of Marius and, now that the Social war was thought to be at an end, to get himself appointed general against Mithridates, he treated the soldiers under him with deference.

When he returned to the city, he was appointed consul with Quintus Pompeius,¹ in the fiftieth year of his age, and made a most illustrious marriage with Caecilia, the daughter of Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus. On the theme of this marriage many verses were sung in ridicule of him by the common people, and many of the leading men were indignant at it, deeming him, as Livy says,² unworthy of the woman although they had judged him worthy of the
11 ὃς φησιν ὁ Τίτος. οὐ μόνην δὲ ταῦτην ἔγημεν, ἀλλὰ πρώτην μὲν ἔτι μειράκιον ὄν Ἰλίαν ἔσχε τὴν καὶ θυγάτριον αὐτῷ τεκοῦσαν, εἴτε μετ’ ἐκείνην Αἰλίαν τρίτην δὲ Κλοιίλιαν, ἣν ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν ὡς στείραν ἐντίμως καὶ μετ’ εὐφημίας καὶ δῶρα προσθείς, ὀλίγαις δὲ ύστερον ἡμέραις ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Μετέλλαν ἐδοξεῖ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν
12 Κλοιίλιαν οὐ καλῶς αἰτιάσασθαι. τὴν μέντοι Μετέλλαν ἐν τάσι θεραπεύουν διετέλεσεν, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίον δῆμον, ὅτε τοὺς περὶ Μάριον φυγάδας ἐπεθύμει καταγαγεῖν, ἀρνοῦμένου τοῦ Σύλλα, δεόμενον ἐπιβοήσασθαι τὴν Μετέλλαν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔλων τὸ ἄστυ προσενεχῆναι τραχύτερον, ὅτι τὴν Μετέλλαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους γεφυρίζοντες ἔλοιδόρησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ύστερον.

VII. Τότε δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα μικρὸν ἡγούμενος, ἐπτόθητο τῇ γυνώμῃ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον. ἀντανόμαστο δὲ αὐτῷ Μάριος ὑπὸ δοξομανίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀγηράτων παθῶν, ἀνήρ τὸ τε σώματι βαρὸς καὶ ταῖς ἐναγχοῖς ἀπειρηκὼς στρατείαις διὰ γῆρας ἐκδήμων καὶ διαποντίων πολέμων ἐφιέμενος. καὶ τοῦ Σύλλα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιλιπεῖς πράξεις ὀρμήσαντος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτὸς οἰκουρῶν ἔτεκταινετο τὴν ὀλθερωστάτην ἐκείνην καὶ ὧσα σύμπαντες οἱ πόλεμοι τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἐξῆλαν ἀπεργασα-μένην στάσιν, ὡς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς προσή-μηνε. πῦρ μὲν γὰρ αὐτόματον ἐκ τῶν τὰ σημεῖα

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consulship. And this was not the only woman whom he married, but first, when he was still a stripling, he took Ilia to wife, and she bore him a daughter; then Aelia, after her; and thirdly, Cloelia, whom he divorced for barrenness, honourably, and with words of praise, to which he added gifts. But since he married Metella only a few days afterwards, he was thought to have accused Cloelia unfairly. To Metella, however, he always showed great deference in all things, so that the Roman people, when it longed for the restoration of the exiled partisans of Marius, and Sulla refused it, in its need called upon Metella for aid. It was thought also that when he took the city of Athens, he treated its people more harshly because they had scurrilously abused Metella from the walls. But this was later.¹

VII. At the time of which I speak, deeming the consulship a slight matter in comparison with things to come, his thoughts soared to the Mithridatic war. But here he found a rival in Marius, who was possessed by ambition and a mad desire for fame, those never ageing passions. He was now unwieldy in body, and in the recent campaigns had given up service on account of his age, and yet set his heart upon foreign wars beyond the seas. And when Sulla had set out for his camp on unfinished business,² he himself kept at home and contrived that most fatal sedition, which wrought Rome more harm than all her wars together had done, as indeed the heavenly powers foreshowed to them. For fire broke forth of its own accord from the staves which supported

¹ Cf. chapter xiii. 1.
² Sulla was occupied with the siege of Nola, in Campania.

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dorátων ὑποφερόντων ἀνέλαμψε καὶ κατεσβέσθη μόλις, κόρακες δὲ τρεῖς τους νεοσσούς εἰς τὴν ὀδὸν προαγαγόντες κατέφαγον, τὰ δὲ λείψανα 3 πάλιν εἰς τὴν νεοσσιάν ἀνήγεγκαν. καὶ μὺν δὲ ἐν ἴερῷ χρυσὸν ἀνακείμενον διαφαγόντων μίαν οἱ ξάκοροι πάγη θήλειαν λαμβάνονσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πάγῃ τεκούσα πέντε κατανάλωσε τὰ τρία. τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, εῖς ἄνεφελον καὶ διαίθρου τοῦ περιέχοντος ἤχησε φωνὴ σάλπυγγος ὡς ἄποτεινουσα καὶ θρηνώδῃ φθόγγον, ὡστε πάντας ἐκφρονας γενέσθαι καὶ καταπτήξαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. Τυρρηνῶν δὲ οἱ λόγοι μεταβολὴν ἔτερον γένους ἀπεφαίνοντο καὶ μετακόσμησαν ἀποσημαί- 4 νειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ὅκτω 1 τὰ σύμπαντα γένη, διάφεροντα τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς θεσιν ἄλλη- λων, ἐκάστῳ δὲ ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνων ἀριθμὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμπεραιόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ. καὶ ὅταν αὐτῇ σχῆ τέλος, ἐτέρας ἐνισταμένης κινεῖσθαι τι σημείον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ὡς δὴ λοιπὸν εἶναι τοῖς πεφρονι- τικοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μεμαθηκόσιν εὐθὺς ὅτι καὶ τρόπους ἄλλους καὶ βίους ἀνθρωποι χρόμενοι γεγόνασιν, καὶ θεοῖς ἤττον ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν προ- 5 τέρων μέλουτες. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα φασίν ἐν τῇ τῶν γενῶν ἀμείψει λαμβάνειν μεγάλας καινοτο- μίας, καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ποτὲ μὲν αὐξεῖ σαὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ κατατυχάνειν ταῖς προαγορεύσει, καθάρα καὶ φανερὰ σημεία τοῦ δαιμονίου προπέμ- ποντος, αὖθις δὲ ἐν ἐτέρῳ γένει ταπεινὰ πράττειν, αὐτοσχέδιον οὐσιν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ διὰ ἀμυδρῶν 1 ὅκτῳ before this word Sintenis 2 reads ἀνθρώπων, after Suidas.

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the ensigns, and was with difficulty extinguished; and three ravens brought their young forth into the street and devoured them, and then carried the remains back again into their nest; and after mice had gnawed consecrated gold in a temple, the keepers caught one of them, a female, in a trap, and in the very trap she brought forth five young ones, and ate up three of them. But most important of all, out of a cloudless and clear air there rang out the voice of a trumpet, prolonging a shrill and dismal note, so that all were amazed and terrified at its loudness. The Tuscan wise men declared that the prodigy foretokened a change of conditions and the advent of a new age. For according to them there are eight ages in all, differing from one another in the lives and customs of men, and to each of these God has appointed a definite number of times and seasons, which is completed by the circuit of a great year. And whenever this circuit has run out, and another begins, some wonderful sign is sent from earth or heaven, so that it is at once clear to those who have studied such subjects and are versed in them, that men of other habits and modes of life have come into the world, who are either more or less of concern to the gods than their predecessors were. All things, they say, undergo great changes, as one age succeeds another, and especially the art of divination; at one period it rises in esteem and is successful in its predictions, because manifest and genuine signs are sent forth from the Deity; and again, in another age, it is in small repute, being off-hand, for the most part, and seeking to grasp
καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὀργάνων τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπτωμένην. ταύτα μὲν οὖν οἱ λογιώτατοι Τυρρηνῶν καὶ πλέον ἐν τοῖς μάντεσι περὶ τούτων σχολαιζούσης καὶ καθημένης ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἐνυσοῦς, στροφὸς εἰς ἐπτή πάντων ὀρώντων τέττιγα φέρων τῷ στόματι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκβαλὼν μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέλπε, τὸ δὲ ἐξόν ἀπῆλθεν. ὑφευρώντο δὴ στάσιν οἱ τερατοσκόποι καὶ διάφοραν τῶν κηθματικῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀστικὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἀγοραίον φωνάζει ὡς τὸ τούτων εἶναι καθάπερ τέττιγα, τούς δὲ χωρίτας ἀρουραίοις.

VIII. Μάριος δὴ προσλαμβάνει δημαρχοῦντα Σουλπίκιον, ἀνθρωπὸν οὖν δεύτερον ἐν ταῖς ἀκραῖς κακίαις, ὥστε μὴ ξητεῖν τῖνος ἐστὶν ἐτέρου μοχθηρότερος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μοχθηρότατος ἕαυτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὁμότης καὶ τόλμα καὶ πλευνεξία περὶ αὐτῶν ἢν ἀπερίσκεπτος αἰσχρός καὶ παντὸς κακὸς, ὃς γε τὴν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείαν ἔξελθενθερικοῖς καὶ μετοῖκοισ πολλῶν ἀναφανῶν ἥρθημεν τιμὴν διὰ τράπεζης ἐν ἀγορᾷ κειμένης. ἔστησε δὲ τρισχιλίους μαχαιροφόρους, καὶ πλήθος ἵππων νεανίσκων πρὸς ἀπαν ἐτόμων περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέειν, οὐς ἀντισύγκλητον ὁνόμαζε. νόμον δὲ κυρώσας μηδένα συγκλητικόν ὑπὲρ διαχυλίας δραχμῶς ὀφείλειν, αὐτὸς ἀπέλητε μετὰ τὴν τελευτῆν ὀφλῆματος μυρίάδας τριακοσίας. οὗτος εἰς τὸν δὴμον ἀφεθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρίου, καὶ συνταράξας πάντα

1 The Greek of this sentence is acknowledged by all editors to be corrupt. The translation follows Coraës.
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the future by means of faint and blind senses. Such, at any rate, was the tale told by the wisest of the Tuscans, who were thought to know much more about it than the rest. Moreover, while the senate was busied with the soothsayers about these prodigies, and holding its session in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow came flying in, before the eyes of all, with a grasshopper in its mouth, a part of which it threw down and left there, and then went away with the other part. From this the diviners apprehended a quarrelsome dissension between the landed proprietors and the populace of the city and forum; for the latter is vociferous like a grasshopper, while the former haunt the fields (like the sparrow).1

VIII. Marius now made alliance with Sulpicius who was a tribune of the people, a man second to none in prime villainies, so that the question was not whom else he surpassed in wickedness, but in what he surpassed his own wickedness. For the combination of cruelty, effrontery, and rapacity in him was regardless of shame and of all evil, since he sold the Roman citizenship to freedmen and aliens at public sale, and counted out the price on a money-table which stood in the forum. Moreover, he maintained three thousand swordsmen, and had about him a body of young men of the equestrian order who were ready for everything, and whom he called his anti-senate. Further, though he got a law passed that no senator should incur a debt of more than two thousand drachmas, he himself left behind him after death a debt of three millions. This man was now let loose upon the people by Marius, and after confounding all
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tà πράγματα βία καὶ σιδήρῳ, νόμους ἔγραφεν ἄλλους τε μοχθηροὺς καὶ τὸν διδόντα Μαρίῳ τοῦ
3 Μιθριδάτικου πολέμου τὴν ἤγεμονίαν. ἄπραξίας δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων ψηφισμάτων, ἔπαγαγὼν αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησιαζοῦσι περὶ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων δόχλου ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ Πομπήιον τοῦ ὑπάτου μειράκιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγοράς ἄνειλεν αὐτὸς δὲ Πομπήιος λαθῶν ἐξέφυγε. Σύλλας δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου συνδιώκθεις
4 ἡμαγκάσθη προελθὼν ταῦτα ἄπραξίας λύσαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Πομπήιον ἔπαρχοντα παύσας ὁ Σουλπίκιος οὐκ ἄφειλετο τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν ὑπατείαν, ἄλλα τὴν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην στρατεύειν μόνον εἰς Μάριον μετήνεγκε· καὶ πέμπει χιλιάρχους εὐθὺς εἰς Νῶλαν παραληψομένους τὸ στράτευμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μάριον ἀξοντας.

IX. Φθάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα διαφυγεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἐπὰθοντο ταῦτα, καταλευσάντων τοὺς χιλιάρχους, οἱ περὶ τὸν Μάριον αὖθις ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς Σύλλα φίλους ἀνήρουν καὶ χρήματα διήρταξον αὐτῶν. ἦσαν δὲ μεταστάσεις καὶ φυγαὶ, τῶν μὲν εἰς πόλιν ἀπὸ στρατόπεδου, τῶν δὲ ἐκείστε διαφορεστῶντων ἐκ τῆς
2 πόλεως. ἦ δὲ σύγκλητος ἦν μὲν οὐχ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Μαρίῳ καὶ Σουλπίκιοι διφθέετο προστάγ-
μασι, πυθομένη δὲ τοῦ Σύλλαν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν 457 ἐλαύνειν ἐπεμψε δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν, Βροῦτον καὶ Σερουλίου, ἀπαγορεύουσαν αὐτῷ βαδίζειν. τούτους θρασύτερον Σύλλα, διαλεξόντες ὁρ-
μησαν μὲν ἀνελεῖν οἱ στρατιώται, τὰς δὲ ράβδους

1 παῦσα Coraës and Bekker, after Muretus: ποῆσας.

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things by force and the sword, he proposed certain vicious laws, and particularly one offering to Marius the command in the Mithridatic war. To prevent voting on these, the consuls decreed suspension of public business, whereupon Sulpicius led a mob against them, as they were holding an assembly near the temple of Castor and Pollux, and, amongst many others, slew also the young son of Pompeius the consul in the forum; but Pompeius himself made his escape unnoticed. Sulla, however, after having been pursued into the house of Marius, was forced to come forth and rescind the decree for suspension of public business; and it was because he did this that Sulpicius, although he deposed Pompeius, did not take the consulship away from Sulla, but merely transferred the expedition against Mithridates to the command of Marius. He also sent military tribunes at once to Nola, who were to take over the army there and conduct it to Marius.

IX. But Sulla succeeded in making his escape and reaching the camp first, and his soldiers, when they learned what had happened, stoned the tribunes to death; in return for which, Marius and his partisans in the city went to slaying the friends of Sulla and plundering their property. Then there were removals and flights, some passing continually from camp to city, and others from city to camp. The senate was not its own master, but was governed by the dictates of Marius and Sulpicius, and when it learned that Sulla was marching against the city, it sent two of the praetors, Brutus and Servilius, to forbid his advance. These men addressed Sulla with too much boldness, whereupon his soldiers
καὶ δειμένης μὴ βαδίζειν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου, πάντα γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὰ δίκαια τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμένης, ὥμολογησε μὲν αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύσειν καὶ διαμετρεῖν ἐκέλευεν χώρας, ὡσπερ εἰώθει, τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὅστε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπελθεῖν πιστεύσαντας· ἐκείνων δὲ ἀπελθόντων εὐθὺς ἐκπέμψας Δεύκιον Βάσιλλον καὶ Γάϊον Μόμμιον καταλαμβάνει τὴν πύλην δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τεῖχα τὰ περὶ τὸν λόφον τὸν Αἰσκυλίνον· εἰτ' 6 αὐτὸς ἀπάσησε σπουδῇ συνήπτε. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Βάσιλλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐρμπεσόντων καὶ κρατοῦντων, ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀνυπόλος δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν τεγών κεράμων καὶ λίθω βάλλοντες ἐπέσχον αὐτούς τοὺς πρόσω χωρεῖν καὶ συνέστειλαν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. ἐν τούτω δὲ ὁ Σύλλας παρῆν ἡδη, καὶ συνιδών τὸ γυνόμενον ἔβα τὰς οἰκίας υφάπτειν, καὶ λαβὼν δαδὰ καιομένην ἔχορει πρώτος αὐτός, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐκέλευε χρῆσθαι τοὺς πυροβόλους ἀνώ τῶν στεγασμάτων ἐφιεμένους, κατ' οὗδένα λογισμόν, 7 ἀλλ' ἐμπαθῆς ὅλικο καὶ τῷ θυμῷ παραδεδωκὼς τὴν τῶν πρασσομένων ἡγεμονίαν, ὅσις τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μόνου ἐώρα, φίλους δὲ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους εἰς οὗδένα λόγον θέμενος οὔδ' οἰκτόν κατήει διὰ πυρὸς, ὅ τῶν αἴτιών καὶ μὴ διάγνωσις οὐκ ἦν. τούτων δὲ γυνομένων Μάριος ἔξωσθεὶς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν ἐκάλει διὰ κηρύγματος ἐπ' ἐλευ- θερία τὸ οἰκτικόν· ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων κρατηθεῖς ἔξεπεσε τῆς πόλεως.

Χ. Σύλλας δὲ τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγὼν καταψη- φίζεται θάνατον αὐτοῦ τε Μάριον καὶ ὅλιγων

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deputation from the city, which begged him not to advance to an immediate attack, since the senate had voted that he should have all his rights; he therefore agreed to encamp there, and ordered his officers to measure out the ground, as was usual, for the camp, so that the deputation returned to the city believing that he would do so. But no sooner were they gone than he sent forward Lucius Basillus and Caius Mummius, who seized for him the city-gate and the walls on the Esquiline hill; then he himself followed hard after them with all speed. Basillus and his men burst into the city and were forcing their way along, when the unarmed multitude pelted them with stones and tiles from the roofs of the houses, stopped their further progress, and crowded them back to the wall. But by this time Sulla was at hand, and seeing what was going on, shouted orders to set fire to the houses, and seizing a blazing torch, led the way himself, and ordered his archers to use their fire-bolts and shoot them up at the roofs. This he did not from any calm calculation, but in a passion, and having surrendered to his anger the command over his actions, since he thought only of his enemies, and without any regard or even pity for friends and kindred and relations, made his entry by the aid of fire, which made no distinction between the guilty and the innocent. Meanwhile Marius, who had been driven back to the temple of Tellus, made a proclamation calling the slaves to his support under promise of freedom; but the enemy coming on, he was overpowered and fled from the city.

X. Sulla now called together the senate, and had sentence of death passed on Marius himself and a
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άλλων, ἐν οἷς Σουλπίκιος ἦν ὁ δήμαρχος. ἀλλὰ Σουλπίκιος μὲν ἀπεσφάγη προδοθείς ύπὸ θερά-
ποτος, ὅ ό Σύλλας ἥλευθέρωσεν, εἶτα κατε-
κρήμνυμε, Μαρίῳ δὲ ἐπεκήρυξεν ἀργύριον, οὐκ
εὐγνωμόνως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς, ὃ γε μικρὸν ἔμ-
προσθεν ὑποχείριον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν δοῦν ἐαυτὸν
2 ἀσφαλῶς ἀφείθη. καίτοι Μαρίῳ τότε μὴ διένει
Σύλλαν, ἀλλ' ἀποθανεῖν ύπὸ Σουλπίκιου προε-
μένω, πάντων κρατεῖν ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐφεί-
ςατο· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὁλίγας τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν
παρασχὼν οὐκ ἔτυχε τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ
Σύλλας τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον ἀδήλως ἤνισσεν ἢ δὲ
παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δυσμένεια καὶ νέμεσις αὐτῷ
3 φανερὰ δι' ἔργαν ἀπήντα. Νώνιον μὲν γε τῶν
458 ἀδελφιδοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ Σερούνιον ἄρχας μετε-
όντας ἀποψηφισάμενοι καὶ καθυβρίσαντες ἐτέρους
κατέστησαν ἀρχοντας, οὓς μάλιστα τιμῶντες
τὸντο λυπεῖν ἔκεινον. ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε προσε-
ποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ὡς τοῦ δήμου τῷ ποιεῖν ὑ βού-
λοιτο δι' αὐτὸν ἀπολαύωντος τῆς ἔλευθερίας, καὶ
θεραπεύων τὸ τῶν πολλῶν μίσος ὑπατον κατε-
στήσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως Λεύκιον
Κίνναν, ἅραις καὶ ὅρκοις καταλαβὼν εὐνοήσειν
4 τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ πράγμασιν. ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς εἰς τὸ
Καπιτώλιον ἔχων ἐν τῷ χειρὶ λίθον ὁμίμην, εἶτα
ἐπαρασάμενος ἐαυτῷ μὴ φυλάττοντι τὴν πρὸς
ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ὡσπερ ὁ
λίθος διὰ τῆς χειρὸς, κατέβαλε χαμάζε τὸν λίθον
οὐκ ὁλίγων παρόντων. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρ-
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few others, among whom was Sulpicius the tribune of the people. But Sulpicius was killed, after he had been betrayed by a servant, to whom Sulla first gave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock; moreover, he set a price on the head of Marius, an act both ungrateful and impolitic, since it was in his house that he had found refuge and surrendered himself a little before this, and had been let off safe. And yet had Marius at that time not let Sulla go, but given him up to death at the hands of Sulpicius, he might have been absolute master in Rome; nevertheless he spared his life, and when after a few days he had given him the same opportunity, he did not obtain like mercy. By these proceedings Sulla won the secret dislike of the senate; but the people's hatred and indignation was made manifest to him by their acts. For instance, they ignominiously rejected Nonius his nephew, and Servius, who were his candidates for offices, and appointed others, whose preferment they thought would be most vexing to him. But he pretended to be pleased at this, saying that the people, in doing as it pleased, enjoyed a freedom which was due to him, and out of deference to the hatred of the multitude allowed Lucius Cinna, a man of the opposite faction, to be invested with the consulship, after binding him by solemn oaths to be favourable to his policies. And Cinna went up to the Capitol with a stone in his hand and took the oaths, and then, after praying that if he did not maintain his goodwill towards Sulla, he might be cast out of the city, as the stone from his hand, he threw the stone upon the ground in the sight of many people. But as soon as he had entered upon his office, he
χήν εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρη τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν, καὶ
dίκην ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν παρεσκεύασε καὶ κατη-
γορεῶν ἐπέστησεν Ουεργίνιον, ἕνα τῶν δημάρχων,
ὅν ἐκείνος ἁμα τῷ δικαστηρίῳ χαίρειν ἐάσας ἐπὶ
Μιθριδάτην ἀπήρε.

XI. Δέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐν αἷς
ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκίνητο τὸν στόλον,
ἀλλα τε πολλὰ Μιθριδάτη διατρίβοντι περὶ τὸ
Πέργαμον ἐπισκῆψαι δαιμόνια, καὶ Νίκην στε-
φανηφόρον καθιεμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Περγαμηνῶν ἐπ
αὐτὸν ἐκ τινῶν ὀργάνων ἀναθεῖν δόσων ὑπὸ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ψαύουσαι συντριβῆται, καὶ τῶν στε-
φανὸν ἐκπεσόντα κατὰ τοῦ θεάτρου φέρεσθαι
χαμάζει διαθρυπτομένου, ὡστε φρίκην μὲν τῷ
δήμῳ, ἀθυμῶν δὲ πολλὴν Μιθριδάτη παρασχεῖν,
καίπερ αὐτῷ τότε τῶν πραγμάτων ἐλπίδος πέρα
2 προχωροῦντων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ Ἀσίαν τε Ἱρω-
μαίνων καὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν τῶν βασι-
λέων ἀφηρημένος ἐν Περγάμῳ καθῆστο, πλοῦτους
καὶ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδας διανέμων τοῖς
φίλοις, τῶν δὲ παῖδων ὁ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ
Βοσπόρῳ τήν παλαιὰν ἀχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαιώ-
tῶν αἰοίκηταν ἀρχὴν κατείχεν ὑπενδοὺς παρε-
νοχλοῦντος, Ἀριαράθης δὲ Θράκην καὶ Μακεδονίαν
3 ἐπήει στρατῷ μεγάλῳ προσαγόμενος, ἀλλοὺς δὲ
οἱ στρατηγοὶ τόπους ἔχειροῦντο δυνάμεις ἔχοντες,
ὅν ὁ μέγιστος Ἀρχέλαος ταῖς μὲν ναυσίν ὀμοῦ
τι συμπάσσῃ ἐπικρατῶν τῆς θαλάττης τὰς τῇ
Κυκλάδας νῆσοις ἐδομολούτο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι
Μαλέας ἐντὸς ἱδρυνται, καὶ τῆν Εὐβοίαν αὐτῆς
εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνῶν ὀρμώμενος τὰ μέχρι Θε-
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tried to subvert the existing order of things, and had an impeachment prepared against Sulla, and appointed Virginius, a tribune of the people, to be his accuser. But Sulla, ignoring alike accuser and court, set out against Mithridates.¹

XI. And it is said that about the time when Sulla was moving his armament from Italy, Mithridates, who was staying at Pergamum, was visited with many other portents from Heaven, and that a Victory with a crown in her hand, which the Pergamenians were lowering towards him by machinery of some sort, was broken to pieces just as she was about to touch his head, and the crown went tumbling from her hand to the ground in the midst of the theatre, and was shattered, whereat the people shuddered, and Mithridates was greatly dejected, although at that time his affairs were prospering beyond his hopes. For he himself had wrested Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their kings, and was now set down in Pergamum, dispensing riches, principalities, and sovereignties to his friends; and of his sons, one was in Pontus and Bosporus, holding without any opposition the ancient realm as far as the deserts beyond Lake Maeotis, while Ariarathes was overrunning Thrace and Macedonia with a large army, and trying to win them over; his generals, too, with forces under them, were subduing other regions, and the greatest of them, Archelaüs, who with his fleet controlled the entire sea, was subjugating the Cyclades, and all the other islands which lie to the east of Cape Malea, and was in possession of Euboea itself, while from his head-quarters at Athens he was bringing into revolt from Rome the peoples of Greece

¹ In 87 B.C.
ταλίας ἔθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφίστη, μικρὰ προσ-
κρούσας περὶ Χαϊρώνειαν. ἔνταθα γὰρ αὐτῷ Βρέττιος Σούρρας ἀπήντησε, πρεσβευτὴς μὲν 
δὲν Σεντίου, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας, 
ἀνὴρ δὲ τόλμη καὶ φρονῆσει διαφέρων. οὕτως 
Ἤρρελάφ δικὴν ῥεύματος φερομένῳ διὰ τῆς 
Βοιωτίας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντιστάς, καὶ τρισὶ 
μάχαις διαγωνίσαμενος περὶ Χαϊρώνειαν, ἐξέσω 
καὶ συνέστηλε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. Δευ-
κίου δὲ Δευκόλλου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ὑποκω-
ρεῖν ἔπιόντι Ζύλλα καὶ τὸν ἐγκηφισμένον ἐκείνῳ 
ἐὰν πόλεμον, εὐθὺς ἐκλεισὼν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὤπισω 
πρὸς Σεντίου ἀπῆλαυσε, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων ἐπίδοσι πρὸς προχωροῦσιν καὶ τῆς Ἑλ-
λάδος οἰκείως ἐχούσης πρὸς μεταβολὴν διὰ τὴν 
ἐκείνου καλοκαγαθίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Βρεττίῳ μὲν 
ταῦτα λαμπρότατα τῶν πεπραγμένων.

XII. Ζύλλας δὲ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις εὐθὺς 
εἶχεν ἐπιπρεσβευομένας καὶ καλούσας, ταῖς δὲ 
Ἀθηναῖς διὰ τῶν τύραννων Ἀριστίωνα βασι-
λεύσθαι ἡμαγκασμέναις ἄθεους ἐπέτατη καὶ τῶν 
Πειραιῶν περιλαβῶν ἐπολυρκεῖ, μηχανῆν τε 
πᾶσαν ἐφιστᾶς καὶ μάχας παντοδαπᾶς ποιοῦ-
2 μενος. καὶ τοῦ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀνασχομένῳ 
παρὴν ἀκινδύνως ἔλειν τὴν ἀνω πόλιν, ὑπὸ 
λιμοῦ συνηγμένην ἢ ὑδὴ τῆς χρείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων 
εἰς τὸν ἐσχατὸν καρύν ἀλλ’ ἐπειγόμενος εἰς 
Ῥώμην καὶ δεδιώκαν τὸν ἐκεῖ νεωτερισμόν, πολλῶν 
μὲν κινδύνοις, πολλαῖς δὲ μάχαις, μεγά-
λαις δὲ δαπάναις κατέστηντε τὸν πόλεμον, ὃ 
γε δίχα τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευής ἢ περὶ τα 
μηχανήματα πραγματείας ἐσύγχυς μνύμοις ὀρικοῖς 
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as far as Thessaly, although he met with slight reverses at Chaeroneia. For here he was confronted by Bruttius Sura, who was a lieutenant of Sentius the praetor of Macedonia, and a man of superior courage and prudence. This man, as Archelaüs came rushing like a torrent through Boeotia, opposed him most fiercely, and after thrice giving him battle at Chaeroneia, repulsed him, and drove him back to the sea. But when Lucius Lucullus ordered him to give place to Sulla, who was coming, and to leave the conduct of the war to him, as the senate had voted, he at once abandoned Boeotia and marched back to Sentius, although his efforts were proving successful beyond hope, and although the nobility of his bearing was making Greece well-disposed towards a change of allegiance. However, these were the most brilliant achievements of Bruttius.

XII. As for Sulla, he at once received deputations and invitations from the other cities, but Athens was compelled by the tyrant Aristion to side with Mithridates. Against this city, therefore, Sulla led up all his forces, and investing the Piraeus, laid siege to it, bringing to bear upon it every sort of siege-engine, and making all sorts of assaults upon it. And yet if he had been patient a little while, he might have captured the upper city without hazard, since it lacked the necessities of life and was already reduced by famine to the last extremity. But since he was eager to get back to Rome, and feared the spirit of revolution there, he ran many risks, fought many battles, and made great outlays that he might hasten on the war, in which, not to speak of his other munitions, the operation of the siege engines
3 ἔχορηγείτο, καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐνεργοῖς οὕσει πρὸς τὴν ἡμερήσιαν. ἐπιλευπτούσης δὲ τῆς Ἰλης διὰ τὸ κόπτεσθαι πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων περικλώμενα τοῖς αὐτῶν βρίθεσι καὶ πυρπολεῖσθαι βαλλόμενα συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς ἵεροῖς ἀλλεσι, καὶ τὴν τε Ἀκαδήμειαν ἐκείρε δευτεροφροτάτην προαστείων οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ Δύ-κειον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἐδει πολλὰν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκίνησε τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀσύλα, τούτο μὲν ἐξ Ἑπιδαύρου, τούτο δὲ ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν ἀναθη-μάτων μεταπεμπόμενος. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύοσιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὅτι τὰ χρήματα τοῦ θεοῦ βέλτιον εἰκαὶ κομισθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἢ γὰρ φυλάξειν ἀσφαλέστερον ἢ καὶ ἀποχρησάμενος ἀποδώσειν οὐκ ἔλαττω καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπεστείλε Κάφιν τὸν Φωκέα κελεύσας σταθμῷ παραλαβεῖν ἐκαστόν. ὁ δὲ Κάφις ἦκε μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς, ὡς εἰς τῶν ἱερῶν θείων, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων παράντων ἀπεδάκρυσε τὴν ἀνάγκην. 5 ἐνὶς δὲ φασκόντων ἀκούσαι φθεγγομένης τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις κιθάρας, εἴτε πιστεύσας εἰτε τὸν Σύλλαν βουλόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς δεισίδαιμον, ἐπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ σκόπτων ἀντέγραψε δαυμάζεις τὸν Κάφιν, εἰ μὴ συνήσειν ὅτι χαίροντος, οὗ χαλεπάλυντος, εἰι τὸ ἄδεω ὡστε θαρροῦντα λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἤδο-μένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδόντος. 6 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διέλαβε τοὺς ὑπὸ πολλοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐκπεμπόμενα, τὸν δὲ ἀργυροῦ πίθου, ὅς ἦν ύπόλοιπος ἐτί τῶν βασιλικῶν, διὰ βάρος.
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called for ten thousand pairs of mules, which were employed daily for this service. And when timber began to fail, owing to the destruction of many of the works, which broke down of their own weight, and to the burning of those which were continually smitten by the enemy’s fire-bolts, he laid hands upon the sacred groves, and ravaged the Academy, which was the most wooded of the city’s suburbs, as well as the Lyceum. And since he needed much money also for the war, he diverted to his uses the sacred treasures of Hellas, partly from Epidaurus, and partly from Olympia, sending for the most beautiful and most precious of the offerings there. He wrote also to the Amphictyons at Delphi that it was better to have the treasures of the god sent to him; for he would either keep them more safely, or, if he spent them, would restore as much. And he sent Caphis, the Phocian, one of his friends, with the letter, bidding him receive each article by weight. Caphis came to Delphi, but was loth to touch the sacred objects, and shed many tears, in the presence of the Amphictyons, over the necessity of it. And when some of them declared they heard the sound of the god’s lyre in the inner sanctuary, Caphis, either because he believed them, or because he wished to strike Sulla with superstitious fear, sent word to him about it. But Sulla wrote back jocosely, expressing his amazement that Caphis did not understand that singing was done in joy, not anger; his orders were therefore to take boldly, assured that the god was willing and glad to give.

Accordingly, the rest of the treasures were sent away without the knowledge of the most, certainly, of the Greeks; but the silver jar, the only one of
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cal megéthis ou dynaméon anabalbein ton upo-
zhynon, anagkakómenoi katanópteuin ois Άμφι-
catóines eis mnémenv ébálouto touto mén Títon
Phlamivínou kai Mánion 'Akúlon, touto dé
Aimílon Paulon, ón ó mén 'Antíxhon exelásas
thi 'Elládon, oi dé touz Makedonon basileis
catapolémhantas ou monon apészchoi touz
ierón touz 'Ellhnikón, allass kai déora kai
timínon autón kai semnótita pollhén prosoth-
7 san. Allass ekén diáv anádrón te sofrónon kai
meimathikóton siwti tous árkhousi paréchei
tas keíras íghoumenoi kata nómon, autóoi te tais
phukais basilikoi kai tais datánais euteléis
ontes, metríous exóvnoi kai tetagménoi analó-
mases, to kolakeúnei touz stratéswtas aúskhion
8 íghoumenoi tou dediai tous polêmous: oi dé
tóte stratéghoi blia to prwteíon, óvke árêtei,
catòmenoi, kal mállon ép' allhlinous déémonoi
 tôn óploí ou touz polêmous, íghagkazúnto démagn-
eghn en tò stratéghen, eidoi dén eis tás ëlympheias
tois stratémedonos ánghliskon íghoumenoi touz
pónon autón, éladoi ónion ólh thn patría
poísantas eautous te doulous touz kakis
9 tòu étô touz beltiónon árchein. Taúta
Máriov, eis' authis épí Súllan katíge, taúta
'Octau喏von touz perì Kínnav, taúta, Flákkou
perì Phimbrían autócheiras épointhen. Ón

1 The gifts of Croesus, king of Lydia (Herodotus, i. 51).
2 Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul in 191 B.C., defeated
Antiochus the Great at Thermopylae, and forced him to
return to Asia.

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the royal gifts which still remained, was too large and heavy for any beast of burden to carry, and the Amphictyons were compelled to cut it into pieces. As they did so, they called to mind now Titus Flamininus and Manius Acilius, and now Aemilius Paulus, of whom one had driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the others had subdued in war the kings of Macedonia; these had not only spared the sanctuaries of the Greeks, but had even made additional gifts to them, and greatly increased their honour and dignity. But these were lawful commanders of men who were self-restrained and had learned to serve their leaders without a murmur, and they were themselves kingly in spirit and simple in their personal expenses, and indulged in moderate and specified public expenditures, deeming it more disgraceful to flatter their soldiers than to fear their enemies; the generals of this later time, however, who won their primacy by force, not merit, and who needed their armies for service against one another, rather than against the public enemy, were compelled to merge the general in the demagogue, and then, by purchasing the services of their soldiers with lavish sums to be spent on luxurious living, they unwittingly made their whole country a thing for sale, and themselves slaves of the basest men for the sake of ruling over the better. This was what drove out Marius, and then brought him back again against Sulla; this made Cinna the assassin of Octavius, and Fimbria of

3 Flamininus defeated Philip V. of Macedon at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C., and Aemilius Paulus crushed Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, at Pydna, in 168 B.C. See Plutarch's Flamininus, xv.; Aemilius Paulus, xvi.–xxii.
οὐχ ἦκιστα Σύλλας ἐνέδωκεν ἀρχάς, ἐπὶ τῷ διαφθείρειν καὶ μετακαλεῖν τοὺς ὑπ’ ἄλλους τατ-τομένους καταχορηγῶν εἰς τοὺς υφ’ αὐτῶ καὶ δαπανῶμενος, ὠστε ἄμα τοὺς ἄλλους μὲν εἰς προδοσίαν, τοὺς δὲ υφ’ αὐτῶ εἰς ἀσωτίαν δια-φθείρων χρημάτων δεῖσθαι πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐκείνην.

XIII. Δεινὸς γάρ τις άρα καὶ ἀπαραίητος εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἔρως ἐλεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας, εἰτε ξίλιον τινὶ πρὸς τὴν πάλαι σκιαμαχοῦντα τῆς πόλεως δόξαν, εἰτε θυμῷ τὰ σκόμματα φέροντα καὶ τὰς βωμολοχίας, αἷς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν Μετέλλαν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκάστοτε γεφυρίζων καὶ κατορχοῦμενος ἐξηρέθιζεν ὁ τύραννος Ἀριστίων, ἀνθρώπος ἐξ ἁσθελγείας ὁμοῦ καὶ ὁμότητος ἐχὼν συγκεν-2 μένην τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὰ χείριστα τῶν Μιθρι-δατικῶν συνεργηκότα νοσημάτων καὶ παθῶν εἰς έαυτὸν ἀνειληφῶς, καὶ τῇ πόλει μυρίους μὲν πολέμους, πολλὰς δὲ τυραννίδας καὶ στάσεις διαπεφυγνία πρότερον ώσπερ νόημα θανατη-φόρον εἰς τοὺς ἑσχάτους καιροὺς ἐπιτιθέμενος· ὦ, χιλίων δραχμῶν ὕψιν τοῦ μεδίμνου τῶν πυρῶν ὄντος ἐν ἄστε τότε, τῶν ἀνθρώπων σιτουμένων τὸ 3 περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φυόμενον παρθένου, ὑποδή-ματα δὲ καὶ ληκύθους ἐφθάς ἐσθιόντων, αὐτὸς ἐνδελεχῶς πότοις μεθημερινοῖς καὶ κόμοις χρῶ-μενος καὶ πυρριχίζων καὶ γελατοποιῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους τὸν μὲν ἱερῶν τῆς θεοῦ λύχνου ἀπε-

1 According to Appian, Bell. Civ. i. 71, Octavius, the consul, a supporter of Sulla, was killed at Rome by Censorinus, acting under the orders of Marius and Cinna, in 86 B.C. Valerius Flaccus, chosen consul to succeed Marius, in 86 B.C.,
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Flaccus.¹ And it was Sulla who, more than any one else, paved the way for these horrors, by making lavish expenditures upon the soldiers under his own command that he might corrupt and win over those whom others commanded, so that in making traitors of the rest, and profligates of his own soldiers, he had need of much money, and especially for this siege.

XIII. For he was possessed by some dreadful and inexorable passion for the capture of Athens, either because he was fighting with a sort of ardour against the shadow of the city's former glory, or because he was provoked to anger by the scurrilous abuse which had been showered from the walls upon himself and Metella by the tyrant Aristion, who always danced in mockery as he scoffed. This man's spirit was compounded of licentiousness and cruelty; he had made himself a sink for the worst of the diseases and passions of Mithridates; and in these her last days he had fixed himself, like a fatal malady, upon a city which had previously passed safely through countless wars, and many usurpations and seditions. This man, although at the time a bushel of wheat sold in the city for a thousand drachmas, and although men made food for themselves of the fever-few which grew on the acropolis, and boiled down shoes and leather oil-flasks to eat, was himself continually indulging in drinking-bouts and revels by daylight, was dancing in armour and making jokes to deride the enemy, while he suffered the sacred

was sent into Asia to thwart Sulla and conduct the war against Mithridates, but was murdered there by his mutinous lieutenant, Fimbria, in the following year. See chapters xx. 1; xxiii. 6; Lucullus, xxxiv. 2.
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σβηκότα διὰ σπάνιν ἑλαίου περιέχε, τῇ δὲ ιερο-
φάντει τοῦ πυρὸν ἡμέτερον προσαίτουσί πεπέρεως
ἐπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς καὶ ιερεῖς ἰκετεύοντας
οἰκτείραι τήν πόλιν καὶ διαλύσασθαι πρὸς Σύλ-
λαν τοξεύμασι βάλλων διεσκέδασεν. ὅγε δὲ ἡδη
ποὺ μόλις ἐξέπεμψεν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης δύο ἡ τρεῖς
tῶν συμποτῶν πρὸς ός οὐδὲν ἄξιοντας σω-
tήριαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὸν Εὔμολπον καὶ τὰ
Μηδικὰ σεμνολογομένους οῦ Σύλλας "Ἀπίτε,
εἶπεν, "ο μακάριοι, τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἀνα-
λαβόντες: ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ φιλομαθῆσων εἰς Ἀθήνας
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέμφθη, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀφιστα-
μένους καταστρεψόμενος."

XIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ λέγεται τινας ἐν Κεραμεικῷ
πρεσβυτῶν ἀκούσαντας διαλεγομένων πρὸς ἄλλη-
λους καὶ κακιζόντων τὸν τύράννον, ὡς μὴ φυλά-
τοντα τοῦ τείχους τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἐπτάχαλκων
ἐφόδου καὶ προσβολήν, ἢ μόνη δυνατον εἶναι καὶ
ῥάδιον ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπαγγέλαι

2 ταύτα πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν. ὁ δὲ οὐ κατεφροίησεν,
ἀλλὰ ἐπελθὼν νυκτὸς καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν τόπον
ἀλώσιμον εἰχετο τοῦ ἔργου. Λέγει δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ
Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τὸν πρῶτον ἐπιβάντα
τοῦ τείχους Μάρκον Ἀτήνιον ἀντιστάντος αὐτῷ
πολεμίῳ δόντα πληγήν ἐκ καταφορᾶς τῷ κράνει
περικλάσαι τὸ ἔξος, οὐ μὴν υφέσθαι τῆς χώρας,
ἀλλὰ μείναι καὶ κατασχεῖν. κατελήφθη μὲν οὖν
ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖθεν, ὡς Ἀθηναῖων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι

1 The Outer Cerameicus, i.e. the suburb before the Dipylon,
or Sacred Gate, through which one left the city for Eleusis.

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lamp of the goddess to go out for lack of oil; and when the chief priestess begged him for a twelfth of a bushel of wheat, he sent her so much pepper; and when the senators and priests came to him in suppliant array, and entreated him to take pity on the city and come to terms with Sulla, he scattered them with a volley of arrows. But after a long time, at last, with much ado, he sent out two or three of his fellow-revellers to treat for peace, to whom Sulla, when they made no demands which could save the city, but talked in lofty strains about Theseus and Eumolpus and the Persian wars, said: "Be off, my dear Sirs, and take these speeches with you; for I was not sent to Athens by the Romans to learn its history, but to subdue its rebels."

XIV. But at this juncture, as it is said, certain soldiers in the Cerameicus\(^1\) overheard some old men talking with one another, and abusing the tyrant because he did not guard the approaches to the wall at the Heptachalcum,\(^2\) at which point alone it was possible and easy for the enemy to get over. When this was reported to Sulla, he did not make light of it, but went thither by night, and after seeing that the place could be taken, set himself to the work. And Sulla himself says, in his Memoirs, that Marcus Ateius was the first man to mount the wall, and that when an enemy confronted him, he gave him a downward cut on the helmet with his sword, and shattered the weapon; he did not, however, yield ground, but remained and held his own. At any rate, the city was taken at this point, as the oldest

\(^*\) An unknown feature of the wall, somewhere between the Piraïc, or western gate, and the Dipylon, or Sacred Gate, opening to the N.W.

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3 διεμνημόνευν. αὐτὸς δὲ Σύλλας τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραικῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συνομαλύνας, περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰσῆλθαν, φρικώδης ὑπὸ τε σάλπτιγξι καὶ κέρασι πολλοῖς, ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ κρανγῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐφ' ἀρταγην καὶ φόνων ἀφειμένης υπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ φερομένης διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν ἐσπασμένους τὸς ξίφεσιν, ὡστε ἀριθμὸν μιθέαν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ ῥύέντος αἵματος ἐτὶ νῦν

4 μετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλήθος. ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀλλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντων ὁ περὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν φόνος ἐπέσχε πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διτύλου Κεραμεικῶν πολλοὺς δὲ λέγεται καὶ διὰ πυλῶν κατακλύσαι τὸ προάστειον. ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων, τοσούτων γενομένων, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν οἱ σφαῖς αὐτῶν διαφθείροντες οίκτω καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίδος ὡς ἀναιρεθησομένης. τούτῳ γὰρ ἀπογνώναι καὶ φοβηθήμαι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐποίησε τοὺς βελτίστοις, οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ Σύλλα φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲ μέτριον ἐπισάντας.

5 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτῳ μὲν Μειδίου καὶ Καλλιφῶντος τῶν φυγάδων δεσμέων καὶ προκυλληδουμένων αὐτοῦ, τούτῳ δὲ τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ὅσοι συνεστάτευοι, ἔξαιτουμένων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς τε μεστὸς ὅν ἦδη τῆς τιμωρίας, ἐγκώμιον τι τῶν παλαιῶν 'Αθηναίων ὑπειπὼν ἐφ' χαρίζεσθαι πολλοίς μὲν ὀλίγοις, ζωντας δὲ τεθηκόσιν.

6 Ἐλείν δὲ τὰς 'Αθηναίας αὐτὸς φησιν ἐν τοῖς 461 ὑπομνήμασι Μαρτίαις καλάνδαις, ἦτις ἡμέρα

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1 τῶν στενωπῶν Bekker, after Coraës: στενωπῶν.

1 In Plutarch’s time.
SULLA

Athenians used to testify. 1 And Sulla himself, after he had thrown down and levelled with the ground the wall between the Piraic and the Sacred Gate, led his army into the city at midnight. The sight of him was made terrible by blasts of many trumpets and bugles, and by the cries and yells of the soldiery now let loose by him for plunder and slaughter, and rushing through the narrow streets with drawn swords. There was therefore no counting of the slain, but their numbers are to this day determined only by the space that was covered with blood. For without mention of those who were killed in the rest of the city, the blood that was shed in the market-place covered all the Cerameicus inside the Dipylon gate; nay, many say that it flowed through the gate and deluged the suburb. But although those who were thus slain were so many, there were yet more who slew themselves, out of yearning pity for their native city, which they thought was going to be destroyed. For this conviction made the best of them give up in despair and fear to survive, since they expected no humanity or moderation in Sulla. However, partly at the instance of the exiles Meidias and Calliphon, who threw themselves at his feet in supplication, and partly because all the Roman senators who were in his following interceded for the city, being himself also by this time sated with vengeance, after some words in praise of the ancient Athenians, he said that he forgave a few for the sake of many, the living for the sake of the dead.

He took Athens, as he says himself in his Memoirs, on the Calends of March, 2 a day which corresponds

2 86 b.c. Cf. the description of the capture of Athens given by Appian, Bell. Mith. xxx.
μάλιστα σύμπιπτεί τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηρίδονος μηνός, ἐν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ύπομνήματα πολλὰ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐκείνης ὁδόσιν, ὡς τότε καὶ περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον μάλιστα τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ συμπεσόντος. ἐαλωκότος δὲ τοῦ ἀστεὸς ὁ μὲν τύραννος εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καταφυγὼν ἐπολυμορκεῖτο, Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένου καὶ χρόνον ἐγκαρτερήσας συχνὸν αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἑκείρισε δίψει πιεσθείς, καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον εὐθὺς ἐπεσήμην: τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τε καὶ ὃ ρας ἐκείνον τε Κουρίων κατήγγειλεν καὶ νεφών ἐξ αἰθρίας συνδραμόντων πλήθος ὁμβρού καταρρωγέν ἐπλήρωσεν ὑδατὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. εἶλε ἂν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μετ' οὗ τοῦρ ἐκεῖνον ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατέκαυσεν, ὡς ἦν καὶ ἡ Φίλωνος ὀπλοθήκη, θαυματομενον ἔργον.

XV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ταξίλης ὁ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας καταβασθείκώς δέκα μυριάς πεζῶν καὶ μυρίων ἰππεύσι καὶ τριῶμπους ἔνενικοντα δρεπανηφόρους ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀρχέλαον, ἐπὶ ναυλοχωντὰ περὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ μῆτε τῆς παλάττης βουλόμενων ἀποστίησεν καὶ μῆτε πρόθυμον ὅταν συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖν. ἄ δὴ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνον συνορῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἀνέξευξεν εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐκ χωρίων γλίσχρων καὶ μηδὲ ἐν εἰρήνῃ τρέφειν ἰκανῶν ὄντων. καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει σφάλ-

1 εἶλε Bekker, after Emperius: εἶλε.

1 In the time of Deucalion, the Noah of Greek tradition. (Cf. Pausanias, i. 18, 7.)

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very nearly with the first of the month Anthesterion. In this month, as it happens, the Athenians perform many rites commemorating the destruction and devastation caused by the flood, believing that the ancient deluge\(^1\) occurred at about this time. On the capture of the town, the tyrant took refuge in the acropolis, and was besieged there by Curio, who was appointed to this task. He held out for a considerable time, but was driven by the pangs of thirst to give himself up. And the Deity at once gave a manifest token in the matter; for at the very hour of the day when Curio brought his prisoner down, clouds gathered in an open sky, and a quantity of rain fell and filled the acropolis with water. Not long after, Sulla took the Piraeus also, and burnt most of it, including the arsenal of Philo,\(^2\) a marvellous work.

XV. Meanwhile Taxiles, the general of Mithridates had come down from Thrace and Macedonia with a hundred thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and ninety scythe-bearing four-horse chariots, and summoned Archelaüs to join him. Archelaüs still lay with his fleet at Munychia,\(^3\) and was neither willing to quit the sea, nor eager to join battle with the Romans, but planned to protract the war and cut off their supplies. But Sulla understood the situation much better than Archelaüs did, and therefore transferred his forces into Boeotia, away from regions that were far from fertile, and unable to maintain a population even in time of peace. Most people thought that he had erred in his calculations,

\(^1\) It must have been finished in 330–329 B.C. See Frazer on Pausanias, i. 1, 2.

\(^2\) One of the three harbours of the Piraeus.
λεγαὶ τῶν λογισμῶν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀττικὴν τραχεῖαν οὖσαν καὶ δύσιπτον ἀπολυτῶν ἐνέβαλεν ἐαυτὸν πεδιάσι καὶ ἀναπεπταμέναις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν χώραις, ὅρων ἐν ἄρμασι καὶ ὑπ' ὑπὸ τὴν

3 βαρβαρίκην οὖσαν ἀλκην. ἀλλὰ φεύγων, ὥσπερ εἰρηται, λιμὸν καὶ σπάνιν ἤναγκάζετο διόκειν τὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κίνδυνον. ἔτι δὲ ὅρτησιος αὐτὸν ἐφόβει, στρατηγικὸς ἄνηρ καὶ φιλόνεικος, διὰ ὅκε

Θεταλίας ἀγούτα τῇ Σύλλα δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι παρεφύλαττον. διὰ ταύτα μὲν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀνέζευξεν ὁ Σύλλας. Ὅρτησιος δὲ Κάφις, ἡμέτερος ὁ ἄν., ἔτεραις ὄντος ἴσως ψευσά-μενος τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ κατ-ήγην ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν Τιθόραν, οὕτω τοσαύτην πόλιν

4 οὖσαν ὅση νῦν ἔστων, ἀλλὰ φρούριον ἀπορρώγη κρημνῷ περικοπτόμενον, εἰς ὁ καὶ πάλαι ποτὲ Φωκέων οἱ Ξέρξην ἐπίνοντα φεύγοντες ἀνεσκευά-σαντο καὶ διεσώθησαν. ἐνταῦθα καταστρατο-πεδεύσας Ὅρτησιος ἡμέρας μὲν ἀπεκρούσατο τοὺς πολέμους, νύκτωρ δ' ἐπὶ Πατρωνίδα ταῖς δυσχωρίαις καταβᾶς ἀπαντήσαντε τῷ Σύλλα κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως συνέμειξε.

XVI. Γενόμενοι δὲ κοινῇ καταλαμβάνονται βουνῶν ἐκ μέσων ἐστῶτα τῶν Ἐλατικῶν πεδίων, εὐγενῶν καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ρίζαν ὦδωρ ἔχοντα. Φιλοβοιωτὸς καλεῖται, καὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θέσιν ἐπαινεῖ θαυμασίως ὁ Σύλλας. στρατοπεδεύσαντες δὲ παντάπασιν ὀλίγοι τοῖς πολεμίοις κατεφάνησαν ἱππεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὦ πλείον πεντακοσίων καὶ χίλιων ἐγένοντο, πεζοὶ

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because he had abandoned Attica, which was a rough country and ill-suited for cavalry movements, and thrown himself into the plains and open districts of Boeotia, although he saw that the strength of the Barbarians consisted in chariots and cavalry. But in flying from scarcity and famine, as has been said, he was compelled to pursue the danger arising from battle. And furthermore, he was anxious about Hortensius, a bold and capable general, who was leading a force from Thessaly to Sulla while the Barbarians were closely watching for him in the passes.\(^1\) For these reasons Sulla transferred his army into Boeotia. But Hortensius was rescued by Caphis, a countryman of mine, and conducted by different routes, of which the Barbarians were ignorant, past Parnassus to a spot just below Tithora. This was not so large a city then as it is now, but a fortress surrounded on all sides by steep cliffs, into which those of the Phocians who in ancient times fled before the advance of Xerxes betook themselves and were saved.\(^2\) Having encamped here, Hortensius repulsed the enemy by day, and at night descended to Patronis by difficult paths and made a junction with Sulla, who came to meet him with his army.

XVI. When they had thus united their forces, they occupied a hill which rose out of the midst of the plains of Elatea, a fertile hill, thickly grown with trees, and supplied with water at its base. Philoboetus is its name, and its situation and natural advantages are most highly praised by Sulla. As they lay encamped here, they appeared to the enemy altogether few in numbers; for they were not more than fifteen hundred horse, and less than fifteen

\(^1\) At Thermopylae. \(^2\) Cf. Herodotus, viii. 32.

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2 δὲ πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάττους. οὖν ἐκβιασάμενοι τὸν Ἀρχέλαον οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ παρατάξαντες τὴν δύναμιν, ἐνέπλησαν ὑπόπων, ἀρμάτων, ἀσπίδων, θυρεόν τὸ πεδίον.

Τὴν δὲ κρανηγὴν καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ ἀὴρ ἑθνῶν τοσοῦτον ἀμα καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν. ἦν δὲ ἄμα καὶ τὸ κομπώδες καὶ σοβαρὸν αὐτῶν τῆς πολυτελείας οὐκ ἄργον οὐδὲ ἀχρηστὸν εἰς ἐκπληξίν, ἀλλ’ αἱ τε μαρμαρογαῖ τῶν ὀπλῶν

3 ἡσκημένων χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ διαπρεπῶς, αἱ τε βαφαί τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ Σκυθικῶν χιτῶνῶν ἀναμεμιγμέναι χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ λάμποντι 462 πυρειδῇ καὶ φοβηρῷ ἐν τῷ σαλευσθαί καὶ διαφέρεσθαί προσέβαλον ὡς, ὡστε τοὺς Ὀω- μαίους ὑπὸ τῶν χάρακα συστέλλειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ θάμβος αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖν δυνάμενον, βιάζεσθαι τε ἀποδεδράσκον- τας οὐ βουλόμενον, ἤσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν βαρέως ἐφυβρίζουτας ὅρόντα κομπασμὸ καὶ γέλωτι τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὀνήσε μὲντοι τοῦτο

4 μάλιστα πάντων αὐτῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἐναυτίοι κατα- φρονῆσαντες ἐτράποντο πρὸς ἀταξίαν πολλῆν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ὑπήκουσι τῶν στρατηγῶν διὰ πολυ- αρχίαν ὄντες: ὡστε οἱ λόγοι μὲν ἐν τῷ χάρακι διεκαρτέρουν, ὁ δὲ πλείστος όχλος ἀρπαγαίς καὶ πορθήμασι διελεαζόμενος ὁδὸν ἥμερῶν πολλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσπείρετο. καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πανοπέων πόλιν ἐκκόψατο λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν Δεβαδέων διαρπάζας καὶ συλὴσα τὸ μνατεῖον, οὐδενὸς στρατηγοῦ πρόσταγμα δόντος.

1 ὡστε supplied by Coraës and Bekker; Sintenis prefers καλ, with Schaeffer.
SULLA

thousand foot. Wherefore the rest of his generals overpowered the objections of Archelaüs and drew up for battle, filling the plain with their horses, chariots, shields, and bucklers.

The air could not contain the shouts and clamour of so many nations forming in array. At the same time also the pomp and ostentation of their costly equipment was not without its effect and use in exciting terror; indeed, the flashing of their armour, which was magnificently embellished with gold and silver, and the rich colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermingled with bronze and flashing steel, presented a flaming and fearful sight as they surged to and fro, so that the Romans huddled together behind their trenches, and Sulla, unable by any reasoning to remove their fear, and unwilling to force them into a fight from which they wanted to run away, had to sit still and endure as best he could the sight of the Barbarians insulting him with boasts and laughter. This, however, was of service to him above all else. For owing to their contempt of him, his opponents lapsed into great disorder, since even at their best they were not obedient to their generals, owing to the great number in command. Few of them therefore consented to remain within their entrenchments, but the largest part of the throng was lured away by plunder and pillage, and was scattered about the country many days' march from their camp. They are said to have destroyed the city of Panope, and to have sacked Lebadeia and despoiled its oracle, although none of their generals ordered them to do so.
Ο δὲ Σύλλας, ἐν δόμασιν αὐτοῦ πόλεως ἀπολυμένων, δυσανασχετῶν καὶ λυπόμενος, οὐκ εἴα τοὺς στρατιώτας σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ προσάγων αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἁγιάζει τὸν τε Κηφίσον ἢκ τοῦ ἱερὸν παρατρέπειν καὶ τάφρους ὅρυσεν, ἀνάπαυλαν οὐδενὶ διδου καὶ τῶν ἐνδυόντων ἀπαραίτητος ἐφεστῶς κολαστής, ὅπως ἀπαγορεύσαντες πρὸς τὰ ἔργα διὰ τὸν πόνον ἀσπάσωνται τῶν κινδύνων.

ὁ καὶ συνέβη. τρίτην γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐργαζόμενον τοῦ Σύλλα παρεξίόντος ἐδέοντο μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ οὐ μάχεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ βουλομένων πονεῖν ἐφησεν εἴναι τὸν λόγον. εἰ δὲ ὄντως ἠχοῦσιν ἄγνωστικῶς, ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖσε, δεῖξας αὐτοῖς τὴν πρότερον μὲν γενομένην ἀκρό-πολιν τῶν Παραποταμίων, τότε δὲ ἀνηρμένης τῆς πόλεως λόφος ἐλεύπετο πετρώδης καὶ περίκρημνος, τοῦ Ἡδυλίου διωρισμένος ὅρους ὅσον ὁ Ἀσσος ἐπέχει βέμων, εἶτα συμπίπττων ὑπὸ τὴν ρίζαν αὐτὴν τῇ Κηφίσῳ καὶ συνεκτραχυνόμενος ὀχυρὰν ἐνατρατοπεδεύει τὴν ἀκραν ποιεῖ. διὸ καὶ τοὺς χαλκάσπιδας ὁρῶν τῶν πολεμίων ὁθωμομένους ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐβούλετο φθίναι καταλαβὼν τῶν τόπων καὶ κατέλαβε χρησάμενος τῶν στρατιώταις προθύμωις. ἔπει δὲ ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἠγριός ἐπὶ τὴν Χαἰρώνειαν, οἱ δὲ συστρατευσάμενοι τῶν Χαἰρωνέων ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σύλλα μὴ προέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐκπέμπτε τῶν χιλιάρχων ἕνα Γαβίνιον μετὰ τάγματος ἐνὸς καὶ τοὺς Χαἰρωνεῖς ἄφησεν, βουληθέντας μὲν, οὐ μὴν δυνηθέντας φθίναι τῶν
SULLA

But Sulla, though chafing and fretting while cities were destroyed before his eyes, would not suffer his soldiers to be idle, but led them out and forced them to dig ditches and divert the Cephisus from its channel, giving no man a respite, and showing himself an inexorable chastiser of those who were remiss, in order that they might be worn out at their tasks and induced by their hardships to welcome danger. And so it fell out. For on the third day of their drudgery, as Sulla passed by, they begged and clamoured to be led against the enemy. But Sulla said their words showed not a willingness to fight, but an unwillingness to labour; if, however, they were really disposed to fight, then he bade them take their arms and go at once yonder, pointing them to what had formerly been the acropolis of Parapotamii. At this time, however, the city had been destroyed, and only a rocky and precipitous crest remained, separated from Mount Hedylium by the breadth of the river Assus, which then falls into the Cephisus at the very base of the mountain, becomes impetuous in its flow after the confluence, and makes the citadel a strong place for a camp. For this reason, and because he saw the Chalcaspides, or Bronze-shields, of the enemy pushing their way towards it, Sulla wished to occupy the place first; and he did occupy it, now that he found his soldiers eager for action. And when Archelaüs, repulsed from this site, set out against Chaeroneia, and the Chaeroneians in Sulla’s army besought him not to abandon their city to its fate, he sent out Gabinius, one of his tribunes, with one legion, and let the Chaeroneians also go, who wished, but were unable, to get into the city before Gabinius. So
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Γαβίνιον. οὔτως ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ προθυμότερος εἰς τὸ σῶσαι τῶν σωθῆναι δεομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἰάβας ἦν Γαβίνιον φησὶ πεμφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ Ἐρίκιον. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἦμῶν παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐξέφυγε τὸν κινδυνοῦν.

XVII. Ἐκ δὲ Δεβαδείας καὶ τοῦ Τροφωνίου φήμα τε χρησταλ καὶ νικηφόρα μαντεύματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔξεπέμποντο. περὶ δὲν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι πλείονα λέγουσιν· ὡς δὲ Σύλλας αὐτὸς ἐν δεκάτῳ τῶν ὑπομημάτων γέγραφε, Κόιντος Τίτιος, οὐκ ἁφανὴς ἀνήρ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι πραγματευμένων, ἢκε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥδη τὴν ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ νεωκηκότα μάχην, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι καὶ δευτέραν ὁ Τροφώνιος αὐτοθε μάχην καὶ νίκην προσημαίνει.

2 ἔντος ὀλίγου χρόνου. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἀνήρ τῶν ἐν τάξει στρατευμένων ὄνομα Σαλούντιος ἀνήνεγκε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος οἶον αἰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πράξεως ἔμελλον ἔζειν. ἀμφότεροι δὲ ταύτα περὶ τῆς ὀρφῆς ἐφραζόν· τῷ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διᾷ καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν.

3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἀσσοῦν ὁ Σύλλας, παρελθὼν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡδύλιον τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ παρεστατοπέδευσε, βεβλημένῳ χάρακα καρτερὸν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀκουστίου καὶ τοῦ Ἡδύλιου πρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους Ἀσσίοις. ὁ μέντοι τόπος ἐν φι κατεσκῆν ὄνωσεν ἀχρὶ νῦν Ἀρχέλαος ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖται. διαλίπον δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν ὁ Σύλλας Μουρήναν μὲν ἔχοντα τάγμα καὶ σπείρας δύο πρὸς τὸ τοῖς τολεμάιοις ἐνοχλήσαι παραταττομένοις ἀπέλυτεν,
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efficient was he, and more eager to bring succour than those who begged that succour should be given. Juba, however, says it was not Gabinius, but Ericius, who was thus sent. At any rate, so narrowly did my native city escape its peril.

XVII. From Lebadeia and the cave of Trophonius favourable utterances and oracles announcing victory were now sent out to the Romans. Of these the inhabitants of the country have more to say; but Sulla himself has written in the tenth book of his Memoirs, how Quintus Titius, a prominent man among the Romans doing business in Greece, came to him immediately after he had won his victory at Chaeroneia,¹ with tidings that Trophonius predicted for him a second battle and victory in that neighbourhood within a short time.² And after him, a legionary soldier, Salvenius by name, brought him from the god a statement of the issue which affairs in Italy were going to have. But both agreed about the source of their oracle; for they said they had beheld one who in beauty and majesty was like unto Olympian Jove.

Sulla now crossed the Assus, and after advancing to the foot of Mount Hedylium, encamped over against Archelaüs, who had thrown up strong entrenchments between Mounts Acontium and Hedylium, at the so-called Assian plain. The spot in which he encamped, moreover, is to this day called Archelaüs, after him. After one day's respite, Sulla left Murena behind with one legion and two cohorts, to obstruct the enemy if they attempted to draw up their forces, while he himself held sacrifices on the

¹ As described in chapter xix.
² Near Orchomenus, as described in chapter xxi.

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Αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισοῦν ἐσφαγμάζετο, καὶ τῶν ἵππων γενομένων ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Χαιρώνειαν, ἀναληψόμενος τῇ τῆν αὐτὸν στρατιῶν καὶ κατοψόμενος τὸ καλούμενον Θεύριον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκατελημμένον. Ἐστὶ δὲ κορυφὴ τραχεία καὶ στροβιλῶδες ὄρος, ὁ καλούμενος Ὄρθοπαγόν, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ἱεῦμα τοῦ Μόλου καὶ Θεύριου νεῶς Ἀπόλλωνος. ὁμορασταί δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Θεοροῦς, τῆς Χαίρωνος μητρὸς, δυνάκειστάν γεγο-νέαν τῆς Χαιρώνειας ἑστοροῦσαν. οἱ δὲ φασίν τὴν Κάδμῳ δοθείσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυθίου καθηγεμόνα βοῶν ἐκεῖ φανῆναι, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ αὐτῆς οὔτω προσαγορευθῆναι. θώρ γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βοῶν καλοῦσι.

Προσιόντως δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα πρὸς τὴν Χαιρώνειαν ὁ τεταγμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει χαλάρχος, ἐξωπλισμένος ἄγων τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀπήνυσε στέφανον δάφνης κομίζων. ὡς δὲ δεξάμενος ἠσπάσατο τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ παρώρμησε πρὸς τῶν κίνδυνων, ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν Χαιρωνέων ἀνδρεῖς, Ὡμολόχοις καὶ Ἀναξίδαμος, ὑφιστάμενοι τοὺς τὸ Θεύριον κατασχόντας ἐκκόψεις, διόνυσος στρατιώτας παρ’ ἐκείνου λαβόντες. ἀτραπόν γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀδηλοῦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ καλούμενον Πετράχου παρὰ τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐπὶ τὸ Θεύριον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἄγουσιν, ἦ πορευθέντες οὐ χαλέπως ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι καὶ καταλεύσειν ἀνωθέν 7 αὐτοὺς ἢ συνώσειν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. τοῦ δὲ Γαβινιοῦ τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυρήσαντος ἀνδρείαν καὶ πίστιν, ἐκελεύσεις ἐπιχειρεῖν ὁ Σύλλας· αὐτὸς δὲ συνέταττε τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διένεμε τοὺς ἰπποτας ἐπὶ κέρως ἐκατέρου, τὸ δεξίον αὐτὸς ἔχου, τὸ
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banks of the Cephisus, and, when the rites were over, moved on towards Chaeroneia, to pick up the forces stationed there, and to reconnoitre Thurium, as it is called, which had been already occupied by the enemy. This is a conical-shaped hill with a craggy peak (we call it Orthopagus), and at its foot is the river Molus and a temple of Apollo Thurius. The god got this surname from Thuro, the mother of Chaeron, who was founder of Chaeroneia, according to tradition. But some say that the cow which was given by Apollo to Cadmus as his guide, appeared there, and that the place was named as it is from her, “thor” being the Phoenician word for cow.

As Sulla drew near to Chaeroneia, the tribune who had been stationed in the city, with his men in full armour, came to meet him, carrying a wreath of laurel. After Sulla had accepted this, greeted the soldiers, and animated them for the coming danger, two men of Chaeroneia accosted him, Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus, and engaged to cut off the troops in possession of Thurium if he would give them a few soldiers; for there was a path out of sight of the Barbarians, leading from the so-called Petrachus along past the Museum to that part of Thurium which was over their heads, and by taking this path it would not be difficult, they said, to fall upon them and either stone them to death from above, or force them into the plain. After Gabinius had borne testimony to the men’s courage and fidelity, Sulla ordered them to make the attempt, while he himself proceeded to form his line of battle, and to dispose his cavalry on either wing, taking command of the
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δ’ ευώνυμον ἀποδοῦς Μουρήνα. Γάλβας δὲ καὶ Ὀρτήσιος οἱ πρεσβευταὶ σπείρας ἐπιτάκτους ἔχοντες ἔσχατοι παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρῶν φύλακες πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις. Ἕωρῶντο γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι κατασκευάζοντες ἱππεύσι πολλοῖς καὶ ψυλοῖς ποδόκεσιν εἰς ἑπιστροφὴν τὸ κέρας εὐ-καμπτὲς καὶ κοῦφον, ὡς μακρὰν ἀνάξοντες καὶ κυκλωσόμενοι τοὺς Ρωμαίους.

XVIII. 'Εν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Χαιρωνέων Ἐρίκιον ἁρχοντα παρὰ τοῦ Σύλλα λαβόντων καὶ περιελ-θόντων ἄδήλως τὸ Θεούριον, εἶτα ἔπιθανται, θύρωβος ἦν πολὺς καὶ φυγὴ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ φόνος ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ὁ πλείστος. οὐ γὰρ ὑπέ-μείναν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πρανόσις φερόμενοι τοῖς τε δόρασι περιεπτιπτον αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ κατε-κρήμνιζον ὑδοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ἀνωθεν ἐπικε-μένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ παιόντων, 2 ὡστε τρισχιλίους πεσεῖν περὶ τὸ Θεούριον. τῶν δὲ φευγόντων τοὺς μὲν εἰς τάξιν ἡδῆ καθεστώς ὁ Μουρήνας ἀπετέμνετο καὶ διέθειερεν ὑπαντιάζων, οἱ δὲ ἡσάμενοι πρὸς τὸ φίλιον στρατόπεδον καὶ τῇ φάλαγγι φύρδην ἐμπεσόντες ἀνέπλησαν δέον καὶ ταραχῆς τὸ πλείστον μέρος, καὶ διατριβὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐνεποίησαν οὐχ ἦκιστα βλάψα-σαν αὐτούς. ὃξεως γὰρ ὁ Σύλλας ταρασσομένοις ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τὸ μέσον διάστημα τῷ τάχει συν-ελὼν ὄφειλεν τὴν τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐνέργειαν.

3 έρρωται γὰρ μάλιστα μῆκει δρόμου σφοδρότητα καὶ ῥύμην τῇ διεξελάσει διδόντως, αἱ δὲ ἐκ 384
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right himself, and assigning the left to Murena. His lieutenants, Galba and Hortensius, with cohorts of reserves, stationed themselves on the heights in the rear, to guard against attacks on the flanks. For the enemy were observed to be making their wing flexible and light for evolution with large bodies of horse and light infantry, purposing to extend it and envelop the Romans.

XVIII. Meanwhile the Chaeroneians, over whom Ericius had been placed in command by Sulla, made their way unnoticed around Thurium and then showed themselves suddenly, producing great confusion and rout among the Barbarians, and slaughter at one another's hands for the most part. For they did not hold their ground, but rushed down the steeps, falling upon their own spears and crowding one another down the precipices, while their enemies pressed upon them from above and smote their exposed bodies, so that three thousand of them fell on Thurium. Of the fugitives, some were met by Murena, who had already formed his array, and were cut off and slain; others pushed their way towards the camp of their friends, and falling pell-mell upon their lines, filled the greater part of them with terror and confusion, and inflicted a delay upon their generals which was especially harmful to them. For Sulla promptly charged upon them while they were in confusion, and by abridging the space between the armies with the speed of his approach, robbed the scythe-bearing chariots of their efficiency. For these are of most avail after a long course, which gives them velocity and impetus for breaking through

1 Cf. chapter xvii. 3. Archelaüs had followed Sulla towards Chaeroneia, leaving Murena free to join his chief.
βραχέως ἀφέσεις ἀπρακτοὶ καὶ ἀμβλεῖαι, καθά-περ βελῶν τάσιν οὐ λαβόντων. δ' ἔδη καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπήντα· καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἀρ-μάτων ἀργῶς ἐξελαυνόμενα καὶ προσπίπτοντα νοθρῶς ἐκκρούσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ κρότου καὶ γέλωτος ἀλλὰ ἦτον, ὡσπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς 
4 θεατρικαίς ἰπποδρομίαις. τούτοις οὖν αἱ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις συνεργάσθησαν, τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων προ-βαλλομένων τὰς σαρίσας μακρὰς καὶ πειρωμένων τῷ συμπασπισμῷ τῆς φάλαγγας διατηρείν ἐν τάξει, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ὑσσοὺς αὐτοῦ κατα- 
5 βαλλοντος, σπασαμένων δὲ τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ παρακρομομένων τὰς σαρίσας, ὡς τάχιστα προσ- 
6 μέζειαν αὐτοῖς δὴ ὀργήν. προτεταγμένους γὰρ ἑώρων τῶν πολεμίων μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους θεράποντας, οὕς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων κηρύγμασιν ἐλευ- 
θεροῦντες οἱ Βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ κατελόχιζον εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας. καὶ τὶς ἐκατοτάρχης λέγεται Ῥωμαίοις εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐν Κρονίῳ πόλει εἴδειν τῆς 
παρρησίας δούλους μετέχοντας. τούτους μὲν οὖν διὰ βάθος καὶ πυκνότητα βραδέως ἐξωθομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν μένειν τολμάν- 
6 τας αἱ τε βελοσφενδόναι καὶ οἱ γρόσφοι, χρω-
μένων ἀφειδῶς τῶν κατόπιν Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέστρε-
φον καὶ συνετάρρατον.

XIX. Ἀρχελάον δὲ τὸ δεξίον κέρας εἰς κύκλῳ-
σιν ἀνάγοντος, Ὄρτησιος ἐφήκε τὰς σπείρας 
δρόμω προσφερομένας ὡς ἐμβαλῶν πλαγίους. 
ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ ταχεῖς ἐκείνου τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν

1 The festival of Saturn, a time of general license and mirth, when masters treated their slaves as equals.
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an opposing line, but short starts are ineffectual and feeble, as in the case of missiles which do not get full propulsion. And this proved true now in the case of the Barbarians. The first of their chariots were driven along feebly and engaged sluggishly, so that the Romans, after repulsing them, clapped their hands and laughed and called for more, as they are wont to do at the races in the circus. Thereupon the infantry forces engaged, the Barbarians holding their pikes before them at full length, and endeavouring, by locking their shields together, to keep their line of battle intact; while the Romans threw down their javelins, drew their swords, and sought to dash the pikes aside, that they might get at their enemies as soon as possible, in the fury that possessed them. For they saw drawn up in front of the enemy fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had set free by proclamation in the cities and enrolled among the men-at-arms. And a certain Roman centurion is reported to have said that it was only at the Saturnalia, so far as he knew, that slaves participated in the general license. These men, however, owing to the depth and density of their array, and the unnatural courage with which they held their ground, were only slowly repulsed by the Roman men-at-arms; but at last the fiery bolts and the javelins which the Romans in the rear ranks plied unsparingly, threw them into confusion and drove them back.

XIX. Archelaüs now extended his right wing to envelop Sulla's line, whereupon Hortensius sent his cohorts against him on a quick run, intending to attack his flank. But Archelaüs wheeled swiftly

2 See chapter xvii. 7.
ιππεῖς δισχιλίους, ἐκθλιβόμενος ὑπὸ πλήθους προσετέλλετο τοῖς ὀρείνοις, κατὰ μικρὰν ἀπορηγνύμενος τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ περιλαμβανόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μῆκος συμπεπτυκότος εἰς μάχην ἐδίωκε βοηθῶν. Ἀρχέλαος δὲ τῷ κονιορτῷ τῆς ἐλάσεως ὁπερ ἦν τεκμηρίμενος, Ὅρτησιόν μὲν εἰς χαίρειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀρμηθεὶς ὃδεν ὁ Σύλλας πρὸς τὸ δεξίον, ὃς ἔρημον ἄρχοντος αἱρήσων. ἀμα δὲ καὶ Μουρήμα Ταξίλης ἐπήγα γε τοὺς χαλκάσπιδας, ὡστε τῇς κραυγῆς διήκον ἐφερμένης καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνταποδιδόντων τὴν περιήχησιν, ἐπιστήσατα τῶν Σύλλαυ διαπορεῶν

3 ὀποτέρωσε χρῆ προσγενέσθαι. δόξαν δὲ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τάξιν ἀναλαμβάνειν, Μουρήμα μὲν ἄρωγον ἐπεμψε Όρτησιόν ἐχοντα τέσσαρας σπείρας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πέμπτην ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν ἦπειγετο καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὸ μὲν ἀξιομάχων ὣδη τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ συνεστηκός, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐπιφανέντος παντάπασιν ἐξεβιάσαντο, καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐδίωκον πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ

4 τὸ Ἀκόυτιον ὅρος προτροπάδην φεύγοντας. οὐ μὴν οἱ Σύλλας ἁμέλησε Μουρήμα κινδυνεύοντος, ἀλλὰ ὀρμήσα τοῖς ἐκεῖ βοηθεῖν ἵδον δὲ νυκώντας, τότε τῆς διώξεως μετεῖχε. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄνηροῦντο, πλεῖστοι δὲ τῷ χάρακι προσφερόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, ὡστε μυρίους διαπεσεῖν εἰς Χαλκίδα μόνους ἀπὸ τοσοῦτον μυριάδων. οἱ δὲ Σύλλας λέγει τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα ἐπιζητῆσαι τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, εἶτα καὶ τούτων δύο πρὸς τὴν

5 ἐστέραν παραγενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις
against him his two thousand horsemen, and Hortensius, forced aside by superior numbers, was keeping close to the hills, separating himself little by little from the main line, and getting surrounded by the enemy. When Sulla learned of this, he came swiftly to his aid from the right wing, which was not yet engaged. But Archelaüs, guessing the truth from the dust raised by Sulla’s troops, gave Hortensius the go-by, and wheeling, set off for the right wing whence Sulla had come, thinking to surprise it without a commander. At the same time Murena also was attacked by Taxiles with his Bronze-shields, so that when shouts were borne to his ears from both places, and reëchoed by the surrounding hills, Sulla halted, and was at a loss to know in which of the two directions he ought to betake himself. But having decided to resume his own post, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to help Murena, while he himself, bidding the fifth cohort to follow, hastened to the right wing. This of itself had already engaged Archelaüs on equal terms, but when Sulla appeared, they drove the enemy back at all points, obtained the mastery, and pursued them to the river and Mount Acontium in a headlong flight. Sulla, however, did not neglect Murena in his peril, but set out to aid the forces in that quarter; he saw, however, that they were victorious, and then joined in the pursuit. Many of the Barbarians, then, were slain in the plain, but most were cut to pieces as they rushed for their entrenchments, so that only ten thousand out of so many myriads made their escape into Chalcis. But Sulla says he missed only fourteen of his soldiers, and that afterwards, towards evening, two of these came in. He therefore
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ἐπέγραψεν Ἄρη καὶ Νίκην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ὡς οὐχ ἦττον εὐτυχία κατορθώσας ἢ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει τὸν πόλεμον. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν τὸ τρόπαιον ἐστηκε τῆς πεδιάδος μάχης ἢ πρώτων ἐνέκλιναν οἱ περὶ Ἀρχέλαον παρὰ τὸ Μόλον ἰδρυσαν, έτερον δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Θουρίου κατὰ κορυφὴν βεβηκός ἐπὶ τῇ κυκλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων, γράμμασίν Ἐλληνικὸς ἐπισημαίνων Όμολοίχων 6 καὶ Ἀναξίδαμον ἀριστεῖς. ταύτης τα ἐπινίκια τῆς μάχης ἥγεν ἐν Ἡβαιαί, περὶ τὴν Οἰδιπόδειον κρήνην κατασκευάσας θυμέλην. οἱ δὲ κρίνοντες ἦσαν Ἐλληνες ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων ἀνακλημένων πόλεων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε Ἡβαιαίους ἀδιαλέκτως ἔχε, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος τὴν ἡμέραν τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ τῷ ὘λυμπίῳ καθερωσεν, ἐκ τῶν προσόδων κελεύσας ἀποδίδοσθαι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπερ αὐτὸς εἰλήφει.

XX. Μετὰ ταύτα πυθιανόμενος Φλάκκον ἀπὸ τῆς ἑναντίας στάσεως ύπατον ἱρημένου διαπεράν τοῦ Ἰόνιου μετὰ δυνάμεως, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκείνων αὐτῶν, ἀρμῆσεν ἐπὶ Θεταλίας ὡς ἀπαντήσων. γενομένου δὲ αὐτῇ περὶ πόλιν Μελίτειαν ἀφικοῦντο πολλαχόθεν ἀγγελεῖαι πορθείσθαι τὰ κατόπτιν αὕτης οὐκ ἐλάτ-2 τοις στρατιὰ βασιλικῇ τῆς πρότερον. Δορύλαος γὰρ εἰς Χάλκιδα καταχθεὶς παρασκευῆ νεὼν πολλῆς, ἐν αἷς ἦγεν ὀκτὼ μυριάδας ἱστηκμένας καὶ συντετηγμένας ἀριστα δὴ τῆς Μιθριδατικῆς

1 παρὰ with Bekker, after Emperius: μέχρι παρά.

1 A deity of good fortune among the Romans.
2 So named “because in it Oedipus washed off the blood of his murdered father” (Pausanias, ix. 18, 4).

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inscribed upon his trophies the names of Mars, Victory and Venus,¹ in the belief that his success in the war was due no less to good fortune than to military skill and strength. This trophy of the battle in the plain stands on the spot where the troops of Archelaüs first gave way, by the brook Molus, but there is another planted on the crest of Thurium, to commemorate the envelopment of the Barbarians there, and it indicates in Greek letters that Homoloichus and Anaxidamus were the heroes of the exploit. The festival in honour of this victory was celebrated by Sulla in Thebes, where he prepared a stage near the fountain of Oedipus.² But the judges were Greeks invited from the other cities, since towards the Thebans he was irreconcileably hostile. He also took away half of their territory and consecrated it to Pythian Apollo and Olympian Zeus, giving orders that from its revenues the moneys should be paid back to the gods which he had taken from them.³

XX. After this, learning that Flaccus, a man of the opposite faction, had been chosen consul⁴ and was crossing the Ionian sea with an army, ostensibly against Mithridates, but really against himself, he set out towards Thessaly in order to meet him. But when he was come to the city of Meliteia, tidings reached him from many quarters that the regions behind him were ravaged again by an army of the king which was no smaller than the former. For Dorylaüs, having put in at Chalcis with a large fleet, on which he brought eighty thousand of the best trained and disciplined men in the army of

³ Cf. chapter xii. 3–6.
⁴ With Cinna, to succeed Marius, who died in 86 B.C.
στρατιάς, ευθύς εἰς Βοωτίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ κατείχε τὴν χώραν, προθυμούμενος εἰς μάχην ἐπιστᾶσαθαὶ τὸν Σύλλαν, οὗ προσέχων Ἄρχελάῳ διακωλύστηκε, καὶ λόγον περὶ τῆς προτέρας μάχης διαδιδόμης ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ προδοσίας μεριδάδες τοσαύται διαφθαρεῖν. οὗ μὴν ἄλλα ὁ Σύλλας ταχέως ὑποστρέψας ἀπέδειξε τῷ Δορυλάῳ τὸν Ἄρχελάον ἄνδρα φρόνιμον καὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐμπειρότατον ἄρετής, ὥστε μικρὰ αὐτὸν τῷ Σύλλᾳ περὶ τὸ Τιλφώσσιον ἐμπεσόντα πρῶτον εἶναι τῶν οὐκ ἄξιοντων κρίνεσθαι διὰ μάχης, ἄλλα δαπάναις καὶ χρόνῳ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον. ὁμοὶ δὲ θάρσος τῷ τῷ Ἄρχελάῳ παρεῖχεν ὁ πρὸς Ὄρχουμενῷ τόπος, ἐν ὃ κατεστράτωτεν, εὐφυέστατος ὁ ἰπποκρατοῦσιν ἐναγωνίσασθαι.

4 τῶν γὰρ Βοωτίων πεδίων ὃ τί πέρ ἐστι κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον, τοῦτο τῆς Ὅρχουμενῶν ἐξηρτημένον πόλεως ὅμοιον ἀναπέπτταται καὶ ἀδενδρον ἀχρὶ τῶν ἔλεος ἐν οἷς ὁ Μέλας καταναλίσκεται ποταμός, ἀνατέλλων μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ὅρχουμενῶν πολὺς καὶ πλαύμος ἐν πηγαῖς μόνοις τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν ποταμῶν, αὐξόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τροπᾶς θερίνας, ὡσπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ φέρων ὅμοια τοῖς ἐκεῖ τὰ φυόμενα, πλὴν 5 ἄκαρπα καὶ ἀναύξη. πόρρω δὲ οὐ πρόεισιν, ἄλλα τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον εὐθὺς εἰς λίμνας τυφλὰς καὶ ἐλώδεις ἀφανίζεται, μέρος δὲ οὐ πολὺ τῷ Κηφισῷ συμμείγνυται, περὶ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν ἡ λίμνη δοκεῖ τῶν αὐλητικῶν ἐκφέρειν κάλαμον.

XXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγύς κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἄρχελαος ἡσύχαζεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ὠρυττε
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Mithridates, at once burst into Boeotia and occupied the country. He was eager to entice Sulla to battle, disregarding the protests of Archelaüs, and giving it out that in the previous battle so many myriads had not perished without treachery. Sulla, however, turning swiftly back, showed Dorylaüs that Archelaüs was a man of prudence and best acquainted with the Roman valour, so that after a slight skirmish with Sulla near Tilphossium, he was first of those who thought it expedient not to decide the issue by a battle, but rather to wear out the war by dint of time and treasure. Nevertheless, Archelaüs was much encouraged by the nature of the country about Orchomenus, where they were encamped, since it was most favourable as a battle-field for an army superior in cavalry. For of all the plains of Boeotia this is the largest and fairest, and beginning from the city of Orchomenus, it spreads out smooth and treeless as far as the marshes in which the river Melas loses itself. This rises close under the city of Orchomenus, and is the only Greek river that is copious and navigable at its sources; moreover, it increases towards the time of the summer solstice, like the Nile, and produces plants like those which grow there, only stunted and without fruit. Its course is short, however, and the greater part of it disappears at once in blind and marshy lakes, while a small portion of it unites with the Cephisus, somewhere near the place in which the stagnant water is reputed to produce the famous reed for flutes.¹

XXI. When the two armies had encamped near each other, Archelaüs lay still, but Sulla proceeded

¹ The Boeotians excelled with the flute. See Alcibiades, ii. 4–6.
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táφρους ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅπως, εἰ δύνατο, τῶν στρεφόν καὶ ἱππασίμων ἀποτελὲσμας τοὺς πολεμίους ἱσευεν εἰς τὰ ἔλη. τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχομένων, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀφείθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐντόνως καὶ ρύθην ἐλαυνόντων, οὐ μόνον οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Σύλλα διεσκεδάσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παρατεταγμένου συνεχύθη τὸ πλεῖστον φυγ-2 ὄντος. ἔνθε δὴ Σύλλας αὐτὸς ἀποτελήσας τοῦ ὑππου καὶ σημεῖον ἀναστάσας ὥθει τῷ διὰ τῶν φευγόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἴσων "Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ποὺ καλὸν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τελευτᾶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῖς πυνθαυνόμενοις ποὺ προδέδωκατε τῶν αὐτοκράτορα, μεμημένοι φράξεν ὡς ἐν Ὁρχο-μενῷ." τούτους τε δὴ τὸ ῥῆθην ἐπέστρεψε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως σπειρῶν διὸ προσεβοήθησαν, ἃς ἐπαγαγὼν τρέπτεται τοὺς 3 πολεμίους. ἀναγαγὼν δὲ μικρὸν ὁπίσω, καὶ δόσα ἀριστον αὐτοῖς, αὕθες ἀπετάφρευε τῶν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ αὕθες ἐν τάξει μᾶλ-λον ἢ πρότερον προσεφέροντο. καὶ Διογένης μὲν ὁ τῆς Ἀρχελάου γυμνακὸς νῦς ἀριστεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ περιόττως ἔπεσεν, οἱ δὲ τοξόται, τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκβιαζομένων, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀνα- στροφὴν ἀθρόος τοῖς ὀίστοις ἐκ χειρὸς ὡσπερ ξίφους παῖντες ἀνέκοπτον αὐτοῦς, τέλος δὲ κατακλεισθέντες εἰς τῶν χάρακα μοχθηρὸς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων καὶ φόνον δὲ ημερῴην ἔκτετευσαν. ἡμέρας δὲ πάλιν τῷ χάρακι τοὺς στρατιώτας προσαγα-4 γὼν οἱ Σύλλας ἀπετάφρευεν. ἐξελθόντας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην συμβαλῶν τρέπτεται, καὶ

1 φόνον Bekker adopts Reiske’s correction to φόβου (terror).

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to dig trenches on either side, in order that, if possible, he might cut the enemy off from the solid ground which was favourable for cavalry, and force them into the marshes. The enemy, however, would not suffer this, but when their generals sent them forth, charged impetuously and at full speed, so that not only Sulla's labourers were dispersed, but also the greater part of the corps drawn up to protect them was thrown into confusion and fled. Then Sulla threw himself from his horse, seized an ensign, and pushed his way through the fugitives against the enemy, crying: "For me, O Romans, an honourable death here; but you, when men ask you where you betrayed your commander, remember to tell them, at Orchomenus." The fugitives rallied at these words, and two of the cohorts on his right wing came to his aid; these he led against the enemy and routed them. Then he fell back a little distance, and after giving his men breakfast, again proceeded to fence the enemy's entrenchments off with his ditches. But they attacked him again in better order than before, Diogenes, the step-son of Archelaüs, fought gallantly on their right wing, and fell gloriously, and their archers, being hard pressed by the Romans, so that they had no room to draw their bows, took their arrows by handfuls, struck with them as with swords, at close quarters, and tried to beat back their foes, but were finally shut up in their entrenchments, and had a miserable night of it with their slain and wounded. Next day Sulla again led his soldiers up to the enemy's fortifications and continued trenching them off, and when the greater part of them came out to give him battle, he engaged with them and routed
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πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖνων φόβων οὐδενὸς μένοντος αἴρει κατὰ κράτος τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ κατέπλησαν 466 ἀποθνησκόντες αἵματος τὰ ἐλη καὶ νεκρῶν τὴν Λίμνην, ὡστε μέχρι πῦν πολλὰ βαρβαρικα τόξα καὶ κράνη καὶ θωράκων στᾶσματα σιδηρῶν καὶ μαχαίρας ἐμβεβαπτισμένας τοῖς τέλμασιν εὐρίσκεσθαι, σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης διαγεγονότων. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ τοιαύτα λέγεται γενέσθαι.

XXII. Κιννά δὲ καὶ Κάρβωνος ἐν 'Ρώμῃ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἀνδράσι χρωμένων παραυόμοις καὶ βιαῖς, πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὠσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφέροντο, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὅλιγον χρόνον σχῆμα βουλῆς ἐγενότει. καὶ Μετέλλα μόλις διακλεφθα έαντὴν καὶ τοὺς παιδας, ἦκεν ἀγγέλλουσα τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐμπε-2 πρήσθαι καὶ δεσμήν τοῖς οἰκοι βοσθεῖν. ἀπορουμένοι δ' αὐτῷ, καὶ μήτε τῆς πατρίδος ἁμελεῖν ὑπομένοντες κακομενής μήτε ὅπως ἀπεισώ ἄτελες λυπῶν τοσοῦτον ἐργον, τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, ἐπινοοῦντε, παραγίνεται Δηλιακὸς ἐμπορος Ἀρχέλαος, ἐξπίδας τινάς καὶ λόγους κρύφα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλικῷ κομίξων Ἀρχελάου. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα Σύλλας οὕτως ἡγάπησεν ὡστε αὐτὸς εἰς λόγους 3 σπεύσαι τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ συνελθεῖν· καὶ συνῆλθον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ περὶ Δήλου, οὐ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔστιν. ἀρβαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου δια-λέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀξιοῦντος ἀφέντα τὴν

1 Plutarch must, therefore, have written this Life shortly before 115 A.D.

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them, and such was their panic that no resistance was made, and he took their camp by storm. The marshes were filled with their blood, and the lake with their dead bodies, so that even to this day many bows, helmets, fragments of steel breastplates, and swords of barbarian make are found embedded in the mud, although almost two hundred years have passed since this battle.¹ Such, then, are the accounts given of the actions at Chaeroneia and Orchomenus.

XXII. Now since Cinna and Carbo ² at Rome were treating the most eminent men with injustice and violence, many of these had fled from their tyranny and were repairing to Sulla’s camp as to a harbour of refuge, and in a little time he had about him a semblance of a senate. Metella, also, who had with difficulty stolen herself and her children away, came with tidings that his house and his villas had been burned by his enemies, and with entreaties that he would come to the help of his partisans at home. But while he was in doubt what to do, and could neither consent to neglect his country when she was outraged, nor see his way clear to go away and leave unfinished so great a task as the war with Mithridates, there came to him a merchant of Delos, named Archelaüs, who secretly brought from Archelaüs the king’s general certain vague hopes and propositions. The matter was so welcome to Sulla that he was eager to have a personal conference with Archelaüs; and they had a meeting on the sea-coast near Delium, where the temple of Apollo is. Archelaüs began the conference by urging Sulla to abandon Asia and Pontus and sail

¹ Elected consul with Cinna in 85 B.C.
'Ασίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Ῥώμη πόλεμον πλείν, χρήματα λαβόντα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ δύναμιν ὅσην Βούλοιτο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Σύλλας Μιθριδάτου μὲν ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸν δὲ βασιλεῦειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενον καὶ παράδοντα τὰς ναῦς.

4 ἀφοσιομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχελάος τὴν προδοσίαν, "Εἶτα," ἔφη, "οὐ μὲν, ὦ Ἀρχέλαε, Καππαδόκης ὡς καὶ βαβαρόν χαλκιῶν δοῦλος, εἰ δὲ βούλει, φίλός, οὐχ ὑπομένεις ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις ἀγαθοῖς τὸ αἰσχρόν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἤγεμον Ῥωμαίοις ὑμῖν καὶ Σύλλα τοιμᾶς διαλέγεσθαι περὶ προδοσίας, ὡσπερ οὖς ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάος, ὁ φυγὼν μὲν ἐκ Χαλεκωνείας ὀλυγοστός ἀπὸ μυριάδων δυνα-καίδεκα, κρυφθεὶς δὲ δύο ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς Ὀρ-χωμενίων ἔλεσιν, ἅβατον δὲ τὴν Βουστίαν ὑπὸ
5 νεκρῶν πλῆθος ἀπολελοίπως;" ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν ὁ Ἀρχελάος καὶ προσκυνήσας ἐδείκτι παῦσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν πρόκλησιν ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι, Μιθριδάτην μὲν Ἀσίαν ἀφεῖναί καὶ Παφλαγονίαν, ἐκστήνει δὲ Βιθυνίας Ἡπιομήδει καὶ Καππαδοκίας 1 Ἀρμο-βαρζάνη, καταβαλεῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ δοῦναι ναῦς ἐβδομήκοντα χαλ-κήρεις μετὰ τῆς ὀικείας παρασκευῆς, Σύλλαν δὲ ἐκεῖνο τῆς ἡ ἄλλην ἀρχὴν βεβαιοῦν καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις ψηφίζεσθαι.

XXIII. Τούτων ὡμολογηθέντων ἀναστρέψας ἐβάδιζε διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Μακεδονίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, ἔχον μεθ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀρχελάον ἐν

1 καὶ Καππαδόκης Bekker, after Coraës: Καππαδόκης.
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for the war in Rome, on condition of receiving money, triremes, and as large a force as he wished, from the king. Sulla rejoined by bidding him take no further thought for Mithridates, but assume the crown himself in his stead, becoming an ally of the Romans, and surrendering to them his ships. And when Archelaüs expressed his abhorrence of such treason, Sulla said: "So then, thou, Archelaüs, who art a Cappadocian, and a slave of a barbarian king, or, if thou wilt, his friend, wilt not consent to a disgraceful deed for such great rewards; but to me, who am a Roman commander, and Sulla, thou darest to propose treachery? as if thou wert not that Archelaüs who fled from Chaeroneia with a few survivors out of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and who lay hid for two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and who left Boeotia impassable for the multitude of dead bodies!" Upon this, Archelaüs changed his tone, and as a humble suppliant besought him to desist from the war and be reconciled with Mithridates. Sulla granted the request, and terms of agreement were made as follows: Mithridates was to renounce Asia and Paphlagonia, restore Bithynia to Nicomedes and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, pay down to the Romans two thousand talents, and give them seventy bronze-armoured ships with their proper equipment; Sulla, on his part, was to confirm Mithridates in the rest of his dominions, and get him voted an ally of the Romans.

XXIII. When these agreements had been made, Sulla turned back and proceeded by way of Thessaly and Macedonia towards the Hellespont, having
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τιμή. καὶ νοσήσαντος ἐπισφαλῶς περὶ Δάρισσαν ἐπιστήσας τὴν πορείαν, ὡς ἐνὸς τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ 2 ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐπεμελήθη. ταυτά τε δὴ διέβαλλε τὸ περὶ Χαίρωνειαν ἔργον ὡς οὐχὶ καθαρῶς ἀγωνισθέν, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους Μιθριδάτη φίλους, οὗς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους, ἀποδοῦσ᾽ ὁ Σύλλας Ἀριστίωνα μόνον τὸν τύραννον ἀνείλε διὰ φαρμάκων Ἀρχελάφῳ διάφορον ὡς· μάλιστα δ᾽ ἡ δοθεῖσα γῇ τῷ Καππαδόκῃ μυρίων πλέθρων ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων φίλον αὐτοῦ καὶ σύμμαχον ὑπὸ Σύλλα ἀναγραφήναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων αὐτός ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἀπολογεῖται.

3 Τότε δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου παραγενομένων καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φασκόντων δέχεσθαι, Παφλαγονίαν δὲ ἄξιοντων μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τὰς δὲ ναῦς οὐδὲ ὅλως ὑμολογηθῆναι, χαλεπῆνας ὁ Σύλλας, “Τι φατε;” εἶπε, “Μιθριδάτης Παφλαγονίας ἀντιποιεῖται καὶ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔξαρσός ἐστιν, ὅπως προσκυνήσεων ἐνόμιζον, εἰ τὴν δεξίαν αὐτῷ καταλεύσωμε χείρα, δι᾽ ής τοσοῦτος Ῥωμαίων ἀνείλευ; ἔτερας μέντοι τἀχα φοινᾶς ἀφήσει διαβάντος εἰς Ἀσίαν ἕμοῦ· νῦν δὲ ἐν Περγάμῳ καθήμενος δὴν οὐχ ἑώρακε διαστρατηγεῖ πόλεμον.” οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις φοβηθέντες ἴστυχαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος ἐδείκτη τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ κατετράυνε τὴν ὀργήν, ἀπτόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ δακρύων. τέλος δ᾽ ἔπεισεν ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Μιθριδάτου διαπράξ-

1 ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτὸς Sinentis and Bekker, after Emperius: ἀποσταλῆναι. The best MS. (S) has αὐτοῦς.

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Archelaüs with him, and in honour. And when Archelaüs fell dangerously ill at Larissa, Sulla stopped his march, and cared for him as if he had been one of his own commanding officers. This raised the suspicion that the action at Chaeroneia had not been fairly fought, as well as the fact that Sulla released the other friends of Mithridates whom he had taken captive, but put to death Aristion the tyrant alone, by poison, who was at enmity with Archelaüs; the strongest ground for the suspicion, however, was his gift to the Cappadocian of ten thousand acres of land in Euboea, and his bestowing upon him the title of friend and ally of the Romans. At any rate, on these points Sulla defends himself in his Memoirs.

At this time also ambassadors from Mithridates arrived, and when they declared that he accepted the other terms, but demanded that Paphlagonia be not taken away from him, and that as to the ships no agreement whatsoever should be made, Sulla flew into a passion and said: “What say ye? Mithridates maintains his claim to Paphlagonia, and refuses to give the ships, when I thought he would prostrate himself humbly before me if I should leave him but that right hand of his, with which he took the lives of so many Romans? However, he will quickly talk in another strain after I have crossed into Asia; now he sits in Pergamum and directs a war which he has not seen.” The ambassadors, accordingly, were frightened, and held their peace; but Archelaüs entreated Sulla, and tried to soften his anger, laying hold of his right hand and weeping. And finally he obtained Sulla’s consent to send him in person to Mithridates; for
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εσθαι γὰρ ἐφ’ οἷς βούλεται τὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ μὴ
5 πείθοι, κετενεῖν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν. ἔπει τοῦτοι ἐκ-
πέμψας ἐκείνον αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Μαϊδικὴν ἐνέβαλε,
καὶ τὰ πολλὰ διαπορθήσας πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς
Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἐδέξατο περὶ
Φιλίππους ἀγγέλλοντα καλῶς ἔχειν πάντα.
δεῖσθαι δὲ πάντως αὐτῷ τὸν Μιθριδάτην εἰς
6 λόγους ἐλθεῖν. αἰτίου δ’ ἦν μάλιστα Φιμβρίας,
διὸ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας στάσεως ἀρχοντα Φλάκκον
ἀνελὼν καὶ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν στρατηγῶν κρα-
τήσας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐβάδιζε. ταῦτα γὰρ
δείσας ὁ Μιθριδάτης μᾶλλον εἴλετο τῷ Σύλλα
φίλος γενέσθαι.

XXIV. Συνῆλθον οὖν τῆς Τροφάδος ἐν Δαρδάνῳ,
Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἔχων ναῦς αὐτόθι διακοσίας
ἐνήρεις καὶ τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως ὀπλῖτας μὲν
dισμυρίους, ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐξαισχυνόμενος καὶ συχνὰ
tῶν δρεπανηφόρων, Σύλλας δὲ τέσσαρας σπείρας
καὶ διακοσίους ἑπεὶς. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ τοῦ
Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὴν δεξίαν προτείναντος, ἡρώτη-
σεν αὐτὸν εἰ καταλύσεται τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ’ οἷς
ὁμολογησεν Ἀρχέλαος· σωπώντος δὲ τοῦ βα-
σιλέως, ο Σύλλας “Ἀλλὰ μὴ,” ἐφ’, “τῶν δεο-
μένων ἐστὶ τὸ προτέρους λέγειν, τοῖς δὲ νυκῶσιν
2 ἔξαρκεῖ τὸ σιωπάν.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξάμενος τῆς
ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπειράτο τοῦ πολέμου
τὰ μὲν εἰς δαίμονας τρέπειν, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἰτία-
σθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὑπολαβὼν ο Σύλλας ἐφη
πάλαι μὲν ἐτέρων ἄκοιμες, νῦν δ’ αὐτὸς ἐγνωκέναι
tὸν Μιθριδάτην δεινότατον ὑπάτα ῥητορεύειν, δὲ
he said that he would have the peace ratified on Sulla's terms, or, if he could not persuade the king, would kill himself. Upon these assurances Sulla sent him away, and then himself invaded the country of the Maedi, and after ravaging the most of it, turned back again into Macedonia, and received Archelaüs at Philippi. Archelaüs brought him word that all was well, but that Mithridates insisted on a conference with him. Fimbria was chiefly responsible for this, who, after killing Flaccus, the consul of the opposite faction,¹ and overpowering the generals of Mithridates, was marching against the king himself. For this terrified Mithridates, and he chose rather to seek the friendship of Sulla.

XXIV. They met, accordingly, at Dardanus, in the Troad, Mithridates having two hundred ships there, equipped with oars, twenty thousand men-at-arms from his infantry force, six thousand horse, and a throng of scythe-bearing chariots; Sulla, on the other hand, having four cohorts and two hundred horse. When Mithridates came towards him and put out his hand, Sulla asked him if he would put a stop to the war on the terms which Archelaüs had made, and as the king was silent, Sulla said: "But surely it is the part of suppliants to speak first, while victors need only to be silent." Then Mithridates began a defence of himself, and tried to shift the blame for the war partly upon the gods, and partly upon the Romans themselves. But Sulla cut him short, saying that he had long ago heard from others, but now knew of himself, that Mithridates was a very powerful orator, since he

¹ See chapter xii. 8 and note.
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éπε πράξειν οὖτω πονηραῖς καὶ παρανόμους

3 λόγων ἐγώντων εὐπρέπειαν οὐκ ἦτορκεν. ἐξελέγξας δὲ τὰ πεπραγμένα πικρῶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηγορήσας, πάλιν ἠρώτησεν εἰ ποιεῖ τὰ συγκείμενα δι᾿ Ἀρχελάου. φήσαντος δὲ ποιεῖν, οὖν ἡσύστατο καὶ περιλαβών ἐφίλησεν αὐτὸν, ἀρισταρζάνη δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ Νικομήδην τοὺς βασιλεῖς προσαγαγὼν διήλθαξεν. ο ἡ μὲν οὖν Μιθριδάτης ἔβδομήκοντα ναῦς παραδόσει καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους εἰς Πόντον ἀπέπλευσεν.

4 ο δὲ Σύλλας, αἰσθόμενος ἀχθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ διαλύσει (τὸν γὰρ ἐχθρὸν τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δικαπέντε μυριάδας ἡμέρα μᾶ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίων κατασφαγῆναι παρασκευάζαται δεινῶν ἡγούμενο μετὰ πλούτου καὶ λαφύρων ὀρᾶν ἐκπλέουσα τῆς Ἀσίας, ἢν ἔτη τέσσαρα λεηπτῶν καὶ φορολογῶν διετέλεσεν), ἀπελογεῖτο πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς οὖν ἀν ἀμα Φιμβρία καὶ Μιθριδάτη πολεμεῖν, εἰ συνέστησαν ἀμφότεροι κατ’ αὐτοῦ, δυνηθεῖς.

XXV. Ὀρμήσας δὲ ἔκειθεν ἐπὶ Φιμβρίαν πρὸς Ὀυατείροις στρατοπεδεύοντα καὶ πλησίον καταζεύξας, τάφρον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιέβαλεν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Φιμβρίου στρατιώται μονοχιτωνεῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προϊόντες ἠσπάζοντο τοὺς ἐκείνου καὶ συνελάβανεν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἔργων προσώμοις. ὥρων δὲ ὁ Φιμβρίας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τῶν Σύλλας ὡς ἀδιάλλακτον δεδοικῶς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διέφθειρε.

1 In the late autumn of 88 B.C. The cities of Asia Minor were glad to obey the orders of Mithridates for a general
SULLA

had not been at a loss for plausible arguments to defend such baseness and injustice as his. Then he reproached him bitterly and denounced him for what he had done, and asked him again if he would keep the agreements made through Archelaüs. And when he said that he would, then Sulla greeted him with an embrace and a kiss, and later, bringing to him Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes the kings, he reconciled him with them. Mithridates, accordingly, after handing over to Sulla seventy ships and five hundred archers, sailed away to Pontus.

But Sulla perceived that his soldiers were incensed at the peace which he had made; they thought it a terrible thing to see the most hostile of kings, who had caused one hundred and fifty thousand of the Romans in Asia to be massacred in a single day, go sailing off with wealth and spoils from Asia, which he had for four years continued to plunder and levy taxes on. He therefore defended himself to them by saying that he would not have been able to carry on war with Mithridates and Fimbria too, if they had both joined forces against him.

XXV. Then he set out from thence against Fimbria, who was encamped near Thyateira, and halting his army near by, began to fortify his camp. But the soldiers of Fimbria came forth from their camp without any armour on, and welcomed Sulla's soldiers, and joined them eagerly in their labours, and when Fimbria saw this change in their allegiance, fearing that Sulla was irreconcileable, he laid violent hands on himself in the camp.

massacre of the resident Romans. Cf. Appian, Mithridates, xxii. Valerius Maximus (ix. 2, 4, Ext. 3) gives the number of slain as 80,000.
Σύλλας δὲ κοινῆ μὲν ἐζημίωσε τὴν Ἀσίαν διεσμυρίως ταλάντως, ιδία δὲ τούς οίκους ἐζέ- 468 τριφέν ύβρει καὶ πολυρκία¹ τῶν ἑπισταθμεύοντων. ἔτετακτο γὰρ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὸ καταλύτη τὸν ξένον διόνυσον τέσσαρα τετράδραμα καὶ παρέχειν δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καὶ φίλοις, ὡσοὶ ἄν ἔθελεν καλεῖν, ταξιαρχὸν δὲ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς λαμβάνειν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐσθήτα δὲ ἀλλήν μὲν οἰκουρῶν, ἀλλήν δὲ εἰς ἀγορὰν προσερχόμενον.

XXVI. Ἄναξθεὶς δὲ πάσας ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐξ Ἐφέσου τριτάιος ἐν Πειραιᾷ καθωρίσθηκε καὶ μνηθεὶς ἐξεῖλεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν Ἀπελλικώνος τοῦ Τηύν βιβλιοθήκην, ἐν ἦ τὰ πλείστα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου βιβλίων ἦν, οὕτω τότε σαφῶς γνωρίζομεν τοὺς πολλοὺς. λέγεται δὲ κοψωθείσης αὐτής ἐτοί, ὡς Ῥώμην Τυραννίσσα τὸν γραμματικὸν ἐνσικενάσασθαι τὰ πολλά, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνδρώνικον εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ ἀναγράψαι τοὺς 2 νῦν φερομένους πίνακας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι Περιπατητικοὶ φαίνονται μὲν καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς γενό- μενοι χαριέστεροι καὶ φιλολόγοι, τῶν δὲ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου γραμμάτων οὕτε πολλοὶ οὕτε ἀκριβῶς ἐντευχηκότες διὰ τὸ τῶν Νηλέως τοῦ Σκηόνος κλήρου, ἢ τὰ βιβλία κατέλημε Θεοφράστου, εἰς ἀφιλοτίμους καὶ ἰδιώτας ἄν- θρώπους περιγενέσθαι.

¹ πολυρκία MSS., Coraës, Sintenis¹, Bekker: πλεονεξία after Solanus.

¹ Cf. Lucullus, iv. 1.
² Cf. Strabo, xiii. 1, 54. Scepsis was a city of the Troad, 406
SULLA

Sulla now laid a public fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents, and utterly ruined individual families by the insolent outrages of the soldiers quartered on them. For orders were given that the host should give his guest four tetradrachms every day, and furnish him, and as many friends as he might wish to invite, with a supper; and that a military tribune should receive fifty drachmas a day, and two suits of clothing, one to wear when he was at home, and another when he went abroad.

XXVI. Having put to sea with all his ships from Ephesus, on the third day he came to anchor in Piraeus. He was now initiated into the mysteries, and seized for himself the library of Apellicon the Teian, in which were most of the treatises of Aristotle and Theophrastus, at that time not yet well known to the public. But it is said that after the library was carried to Rome, Tyrannio the grammarian arranged most of the works in it, and that Andronicus the Rhodian was furnished by him with copies of them, and published them, and drew up the lists now current. The older Peripatetics were evidently of themselves accomplished and learned men, but they seem to have had neither a large nor an exact acquaintance with the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus, because the estate of Neleus of Scæpsis, to whom Theophrastus bequeathed his books, came into the hands of careless and illiterate people.

and a centre of learning under the Attalid dynasty of Pergamum. The writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus were hidden in an underground cellar by their owners, to keep them from being taken to Pergamum, and came in a damaged condition into the possession of Apellicon.

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3 Σύλλα δὲ διατρίβοντι περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀλγήμα
ναρκώδες μετὰ βάρους εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἐνέπεσεν, ὁ
φησιν ο Ἡσάβων ποδάγρας ψελλισμὸν εἶναι.
διαπλεύσας οὖν εἰς ᾽Αἰδηψον ἔχριτο τοὺς θερμοὺς
ὐδασὶ, ῥάθυμων ἁμα καὶ συνδιημερεύων τοῖς περὶ
tὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις. περιπατοῦντος δὲ πρὸς
τὴν θάλατταν ἀλιεῖς τινες ἱχθὺς αὐτῷ παγκάλους
προσήνεγκαν. ἤσθεῖς δὲ τοῖς δόροις, καὶ πυ-
θόμενος ὡς ἐξ ᾽Αλῶν 1 εἰς, "Ἐτι γὰρ ζῆς τις
4 ᾽Αλαῖων;" ἐφ’ ἐτύγχανε γάρ, ὅτε τὴν πρὸς
Ὀρχομενοῦ μάχην νεικηκῶς ἐδίωκε τοὺς πολε-
μίους, ἀμα τρεῖς πόλεις τῆς Βουωτίας, Ἀνθηδόνα,
Δάρμυου, ᾽Αλᾶς 2 ἀνηρηκός. τῶν δ’ ἀνθρώπων
ὑπὸ δέος ἄφωνοι γενομένου, διαμειδᾶς ἐκέ-
λευσεν ἀπίεναι χαίροντας, ὡς οὐ μετὰ φαύλων
οὐδὲ ἄξιων ὀλυγωρίας ἦκοντας παραιτητῶν.
῾Αλαῖοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦτον λέγουσι θαρρήσαντες αὖθις
 eius τὴν πόλιν συνελθεῖν.

XXVII. Σύλλας δὲ διὰ Θεττάλιας καὶ Μακε-
δονίας καταβὰς ἐπὶ θάλατταν παρεσκευάζετο
χῦλαις ναυσὶ καὶ διακοσίαις ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου
διαβάλλειν εἰς Βρεντέσιον. ἡ δὲ ᾽Απολλωνία
πλησίον ἔστι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τὸ Νῦμφαιον, ἱερὸς
τόπος ἐκ χλεοῆς πάτης καὶ λειμώνων ἀναδίδουσ
2 πυρὸς πηγὰς σποράδας ἐνδελεχῶς ρέοντος. ἐν-
tαυτάθα φασὶ κοιμόμενον ἄλων καὶ τύρων, οἷον οἱ
πλάσται καὶ γραφεῖς εἰκάζοντο, ἀχθέντα δὲ ὡς
Σύλλαν ἐρωτᾶτοι δι’ ἐρμηνευῶν πολλῶν ὅστις
eιη. φθεγξαμένου δὲ μόλις οὐδὲν συνετὸς, ἄλλα

1 ᾽Αλῶν, ᾽Αλᾶς with Coraës (in notes): ᾽Αλαῖων, ᾽Αλᾶς.

1 In some passage not now extant.

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While Sulla was tarrying at Athens, his feet were attacked by numbness and a feeling of heaviness, which Strabo says⁠¹ is premonitory gout. He therefore crossed the straits to Aedepsus and used the hot waters there, taking a holiday at the same time, and passing his time pleasantly with the theatrical artists. Once, as he was walking along the seashore, certain fishermen brought him some very fine fish. Being delighted with their gift, and learning that they were from Halae, "What!" said he, "is any man of Halae still alive?" For when he was pursuing the enemy after his victory at Orchomenus, he had destroyed three cities of Boeotia together, Anthedon, Larymna, and Halae. The men were speechless with terror, but Sulla smiled and bade them depart in peace, since they had brought with them no mean or despicable intercessors. The men of Halae say that this gave them courage to go back again in a body to their city.

XXVII. And now Sulla, having passed through Thessaly and Macedonia down to the sea, was preparing to cross from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium with twelve hundred ships.² Near by is Apollonia, and in its vicinity is the Nymphaeum, a sacred precinct, which sends forth in various places from its green dell and meadows, streams of perpetually flowing fire. Here, they say, a satyr was caught asleep, such an one as sculptors and painters represent, and brought to Sulla, where he was asked through many interpreters who he was. And when at last he uttered nothing intelligible, but with difficulty

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¹ His fleet had sailed round Peloponnesus from Piraeus. According to Appian (Bell. Civ. i. 79), Sulla crossed from Patras to Brundisium.
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τραχείαν τινα καὶ μάλιστα μεμιγμένην ἵππου τε χρεμετισμῷ καὶ τράγου μηκασμῷ φωνῇ ἀφέντος, ἐκπλαγέντα τὸν Σύλλαν ἀποδιπομπήσασθαι.

3. Μέλλοντος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας διαπεραίον, καὶ δεδιότος μὴ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιλαβόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις ἐκαστοι διαρρυῶσι, πρῶτον μὲν ὠμοσαν ἀφ’ αὐτῶν παραμενεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκουσίας κακοουργήσειν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔπειτα χρημάτων δεὸ-μενον πολλῶν ὀρῶτες, ἀπήρχοντο καὶ συνεισέ-φερον ὡς ἐκαστος εἰχεν εὐπορίας. οὐ μὴν ἐδέξατο τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὁ Σύλλας, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινέσας καὶ παρορμήσας διέβαινεν, ὡς φησιν αὐτῶς, ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγοὺς πολεμίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίας σπείρας ἔχουσας, ἐκδηλότατα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς εὐτυχίας προσημαινόντος αὐτῷ.

4. θύσαντος μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως ἦ διέβη περὶ Τάραντα, δάφνης στεφάνου τύπων ἔχων ὁ λοβὸς οὐφθη, καὶ λημνίακων δύο κατηρτημένων. μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ τῆς διαβάσεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ περὶ τὸ Τύφατον ὄρος ἡμέρας ὄφθησαν δύο τράγους μεγάλους συμ-φερόμενοι καὶ πάντα δρῶτες καὶ πᾶσχοντες οἱ συμβαίνει μαχομένους ἀνθρώποις. ἦν δὲ ἄρα φάσμα, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αἰρόμενον ἀπὸ γῆς διε-σπείρετο πολλαχοῦ τού ἀέρος εἰδῶλοις ἀμαυροῖς ὄμοιον, ἐίτα οὕτως ἡφαίσθη. καὶ μετ’ οὗ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούθε Μαρίου τοῦ νέου καὶ Νορβανοῦ τοῦ ὑπάτου μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπαγα-γόντων, ὁ Σύλλας οὕτε τάξιν ἀποδοὺς οὐτε λοχίσας τὸ οἰκεῖον στράτευμα, ρώμη δὲ προθυ-μίας κοινῆς καὶ φορᾷ τόλμης ἀποχρησάμενος

1 In the spring of 83 B.C. The main part of his forces, at any rate, must have landed at Brundisium.

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emitted a hoarse cry that was something between the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat, Sulla was horrified, and ordered him out of his sight.

When Sulla was about to transport his soldiers, and was in fear lest, when they had reached Italy, they should disperse to their several cities, in the first place, they took an oath of their own accord to stand by him, and to do no damage to Italy without his orders; and then, seeing that he needed much money, they made a free-will offering and contribution, each man according to his abundance. Sulla, however, would not accept their offering, but after thanking them and rousing their courage, crossed over to confront, as he himself says, fifteen hostile commanders with four hundred and fifty cohorts. But the Deity gave him most unmistakable foretokens of his successes. For after he had sacrificed at once where he landed at Tarentum,¹ the victim's liver was seen to have an impression of a wreath of laurel, with two fillets hanging from it.² And a little while before he crossed over from Greece, there were seen on Mount Tifatum in Campania, in the day time, two great he-goats fighting together, and doing everything that men do when they fight a battle. But it proved to be an apparition, and gradually rising from earth it dispersed itself generally in the air, like vague phantoms, and then vanished from sight. And not long after,³ in this very place, when Marius the younger and Norbanus the consul led large forces up against him, Sulla, without either giving out an order of battle or forming his own army in companies, but taking advantage of a vigorous general alacrity and a

¹ The typical triumphal crown. ² In 83 B.C.

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ετρέψατο τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς Κατύνην πόλιν τῶν Νορβανόν, ἐπτακισχιλίους
6 ἁποκτείνας. τοῦτο αὖτιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι φησὶ τοῦ μή διαλυθήναι τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ συμμεῖναι καὶ καταφρονῆσαι τῶν ἐναντίων πολλαπλασίων όντων. ἐν δὲ Σιλβίῳ φησίνιν οἰκέτην Ποντίου θεοφόρητον ἐνυκηξών αὐτῷ λέγοντα παρὰ τῆς Ἐμνοῦς κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην ἀπαγγέλλειν εἰ δὲ μὴ σπεύσειεν, ἐμπεπρῆσθαι τὸ Καπιτώλιον δὲ καὶ συμβῆναι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὡς ὁ ἀνθρώπος προηγόρευσεν ἢ ἂν δὲ αὐτὴ πρὸ μᾶς νωνῶν Κυντίλων, ἄς νῦν
7 Ἰουλίας καλοῦμεν. ἔτι δὲ Μάρκος Δεύκολλος, εἰς τῶν ὑπὸ Σύλλα στρατηγούντων, περὶ Φιδεντίαν ἐκκαΐδεκα σπείρας πρὸς πεντήκοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιαχθεῖς τῇ μὲν προθυμίᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπίστευεν, ἀνόπλους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔχων ὠκνεί. βουλευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ διαμέλλοντος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πλησίον πεδίον λεμόνα ἔχοντος αὐραφέρουσα μαλακὴ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθέων ἐπέβαλε τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ κατέσπειρεν, αὐτομάτως ἐπιμένοντα καὶ περιστάττοντα τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ τοὺς κράνες αὐτῶν, ὡστε φαινεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστεφανωμένους. γενόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τούτου προσβιμότεροι συνέβαλον καὶ νικήσαντες ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔβλον. οὕτως ὁ Δεύκολλος ἄδελφος ἢν Δεύκολλου τοῦ Μιθριδάτην ύστερον καὶ Τυγράνην καταπολεμήσαντος.

XXVIII. Ὡ δὲ Σύλλας ἔτι πολλοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ μεγάλαις δυνάμεις περικεχυμένους
SULLA

transport of courage in them, routed the enemy and shut up Norbanus in the city of Capua, after slaying seven thousand of his men. It was on account of this success, he says, that his soldiers did not disperse into their several cities, but held together and despised their opponents, though these were many times more numerous. He says, moreover, that at Silvium, a servant of Pontius met him, in an inspired state, declaring that he brought him from Bellona triumph in war and victory, but that if he did not hasten, the Capitol would be burnt; and this actually happened, he says, on the day which the man foretold, namely, the sixth day of Quintilis, which we now call July.¹ And still further, at Fidentia, when Marcus Lucullus, one of Sulla’s commanders, with sixteen cohorts confronted fifty cohorts of the enemy, although he had confidence in the readiness of his soldiers, still, as most of them were without arms, he hesitated to attack. But while he was waiting and deliberating, from the neighbouring plain, which was a meadow, a gentle breeze brought a quantity of flowers and scattered them down upon his army; they settled of their own accord and enveloped the shields and helmets of the soldiers, so that to the enemy these appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumstance made them more eager for the fray, and they joined battle, won the victory, killed eighteen thousand of the enemy, and took their camp. This Lucullus was a brother of the Lucullus who afterwards subdued Mithridates and Tigranes.

XXVIII. But Sulla, seeing that his enemies still surrounded him on all sides with many armies and

¹ Cf. Publicola, xv. 1.
αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅρων πανταχόθεν ἦπετο δυνάμει καὶ δὲ ἁπάτης, προκαλούμενος εἰς δια-
2 λύσεις τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Σκηπτίωνα. δεξα-
mένου δὲ ἐκείνου σύλλογοι μὲν ἐγίνοντο καὶ
κοινολογίαι πλείονες, ἀεὶ δὲ τινα παραγωγὴν καὶ
πρόφασιν ἐμβάλλουν ὁ Σύλλας διεφθείρε τοὺς
περὶ Σκηπτίωνα τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώτας, ἡσκη-
mένους πρὸς ἁπάτην καὶ γοητείαν ἀπάσαι ὡς περ
αὐτὸς ὁ ἡγεμόν. εἰσίνητε γὰρ εἰς τὸν χάρακα
τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀναμνησμένοι τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς
ἀργυρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ ὑποσχέσεις, τοὺς δὲ κολακεύ-
3 οντες καὶ ἀναπεθόντες προσήγοντο. τέλος δὲ
τοῦ Σύλλα μετὰ σπείρων εἰκοσι προσελθόντος
ἐγγὺς οἱ μὲν ἡσπάσαντο τοὺς τοῦ Σκηπτίωνος, οἱ
δὲ ἀντασσαμένων προσεχώρησαν· ὁ δὲ Σκηπτίων
ἐρημὸς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ληφθεὶς ἡφείθη, Σύλλας δὲ
taῖς εἰκοσι σπείραις ὡς περ ἡθάσιν ὄρυσι τεσ-
σαράκοντα τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παλεύσας ἀπῆ-
γαγεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπαντα. ὅτε καὶ
Κάρβωνα φασίν εἶπεῖν ὡς ἀλώπεκι καὶ λέοντι
πολεμῶν ἐν τῇ Σύλλα ψυχῆ κατοικοῦσιν ὑπὸ
tῆς ἀλώπεκος ἀνίφοτο μᾶλλον.
4 Ἐκ τούτου περὶ Σύγνυον Μάριος ὁγοδήκοντα
καὶ πέντε σπείρας ἔχων προὐκαλεῖτο Σύλλαν. ὁ
dὲ καὶ πάνυ πρόθυμος ἦν διαγωνίσασθαι κατ'
ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν· ἔτυγχαν γὰρ ὄψιν ἐωρακὼς
τοιάνδε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοῦς. ἐδόχει τὸν γέροντα
Μάριον τεθνηκότα πάλαι τῷ παιδὶ Μαρίῳ παρα-
νεὼν φυλάξασθαι τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὡς μεγά-
λην αὐτῷ δυστυχίαν φέρουσαν. διὰ τούτῳ μὲν
δὴ πρόθυμος ὁ Σύλλας ἦν μάχεσθαι, καὶ μετε-
πέμπτο τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἀπώθεν στρατοπε-
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large forces, had recourse to craft as well as force, and invited Scipio, the other consul, to make terms of peace. He accepted the proposal, and several meetings and conferences were held; but Sulla continually interposed some pretext for gaining time, and gradually corrupted Scipio's soldiers by means of his own, who were practised in deceit and every kind of jugglery, like their general himself. For they entered the camp of their enemies, mingled freely with them, and gradually won them over to Sulla's cause, some at once with money, others with promises, and others still with persuasive flatteries. And finally, when Sulla drew near with twenty cohorts, his men greeted those of Scipio, who answered their greetings and went over to them. Scipio, who was left alone, was taken in his tent, but dismissed; while Sulla, who had used his twenty cohorts as decoy-birds to catch the forty cohorts of the enemy, led them all back to his camp. It was on this occasion, too, that Carbo is said to have remarked that in making war upon the fox and the lion in Sulla, he was more annoyed by the fox.

After this, at Signia, Marius, with eighty-five cohorts, challenged Sulla to battle. Now Sulla was very eager to have the issue settled on that day; for he had seen a vision in his dreams, as follows. He thought he saw the elder Marius, who was long since dead, advising his son Marius to beware of the ensuing day, since it would bring him a great calamity. For this reason, then, Sulla was eager to fight a battle, and was trying to get Dolabella, who was encamped at some distance, to join him. But
5 δεύοντα. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐφισταμένων ταῖς ὀδοῖς καὶ ἀποφραττοῦντων οἱ τοῦ Σύλλα προσμαχόμενοι καὶ ὀδοποιοῦντες ἐκαμνοῦν καὶ πολὺς οὖμβρος ἀμα τοὺς ἔργοις ἐπηγενόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσεν αὐτοὺς. θεοὶ οἱ ταξιάρχαι προσιόντες τῷ Σύλλα ἐδέουντο τὴν μάχην ἀναβάλεσθαι, δεικνύντες ἀμα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐρριμμένους ὑπὸ κόπον καὶ προσαναπαυσμένους χαμάζει τοῖς θυ- 
6 ρεοῖς κεκλιμένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεχώρησεν ἄκω καὶ πρόσταγμα καταζεύξεως ἐδώκει, ἄρχομένων αὐτῶν τῶν χάρακα βάλλειν καὶ τάφρον ὄρυσεν πρὸ τῆς στρατοπεδείας, ἐπήλαυν σοβαρῶς ὁ Μάριος προεπεύων ὡς ἀτάκτους καὶ τεθορυμμένους διασκεδάσων. ἐναύθαι τῷ Σύλλα τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπόνους φωνῆν ὁ δαίμων συνετέλει. ὁργὴ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέστη, καὶ παυσάμενοι τῶν ἔργων τοὺς μὲν ὕσσος κατέπηξαν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη καὶ συναλαλάξαντες ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τῶν πολεμίων. 
7 οἱ δὲ οὐ πολὺν ὑπέστησαν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ γίνεται πολὺς φόνος αὐτῶν τραπεῖτον. Μάριος δὲ φεύ
γων εἰς Πρασιστοῦν ἤδη τὰς πύλας εὗρε κεκλει
mένας· καλωδίων δὲ ἀνωθεν ἀφεβέντους ἐνζώσας ἐαυτὸν ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸ τείχος. ἦνοι δὲ φασίν, ὅν καὶ Φαινεστέλλας ἔστιν, οὔδὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς μάχης τοῦ Μάριου, ἄλλ' ἐξ ἀγρυπνῶν καὶ κόπων ὕπο σκιὰ τινὶ χαμαὶ κατακλινέντα τοῦ συνθή
mατος δοθέντος ἐνὸδον πρὸς ὑπόν, εἶτα μόλις 
8 ἐξεγείρεσθαι τῆς φυγῆς γενομένης. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ 
mάχῃ Σύλλας φησίν εἰκοσιτρεῖς μόνον ἀποβαλεῖν, 
ἀποκτείναι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων δισμυρίους καὶ λα-
βεῖν ξώνται ὀκτακισχίλιους. καὶ τάλλα δὲ ὄμοιως
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the enemy beset the roads and hemmed Sulla in, and his soldiers were worn out with fighting to open a passage. Much rain also came upon them while they were at work and added to their distress. The tribunes therefore came to Sulla and begged him to defer the battle, showing him the soldiers prostrated with weariness and resting on their shields, which they had laid upon the ground. Sulla yielded reluctantly, and gave orders to pitch a camp, but just as his men were beginning to dig a trench and throw up the rampart before it, Marius attacked them confidently, riding ahead of his lines, and hoping to scatter his enemies while they were in disorder and confusion. There the Deity fulfilled the words which Sulla had heard in his dreams. For Sulla's rage imparted itself to his soldiers, and leaving off their work, they planted their javelins in the trench, drew their swords, and with a general shout came to close quarters with their enemies. These did not hold their ground long, but took to flight, and were slain in great numbers. Marius fled to Prænestæ, but found the gate already closed. A rope was thrown down to him, however, and after fastening this around his waist, he was hoisted to the top of the wall. But there are some who say, and Fenestella is one of these, that Marius knew nothing of the battle, but was forced by loss of sleep and weariness to cast himself upon the ground in a shady place when the signal for battle was given, and there gave way to sleep, and was then roused with difficulty when the rout took place. In this battle Sulla says he lost only twenty-three men, but killed twenty thousand of the enemy, and took eight thousand prisoners. His other plans were carried out with like
eútvkeíto dià tōn stratēgōn, Pompēión, Krasosou, Mētēllou, Χερονίλου. oúdeν γὰρ ἡ μικρὰ προσκρούσαντες οὕτωι μεγάλας συνετριψαν δυνάμεις τῶν πολεμίων, ὡστε τὸν μάλιστα τὴν ἐναντίαν στάσιν συνέχοντα Κάρβωνα νῦκτωρ ἀποδέδω στὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιάν εἰς Διβύην ἐκπλεῦσαι.

XXIX. Τὸν μέντοι τελευταίον ἄγωνα καθάπερ ἐφεδρος ἀθλητή καταπόφω προσενεχθεὶς ὁ Σαυνέτης Τελεσίνος ἐγγύς ἦλθε τοῦ σφήλαι καὶ καταβαλεῖ ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς Ῥώμης. ἔσπευδε μὲν γὰρ ἀμα Δαμπονίφῳ τῷ Δευκανῷ χείρα πολλῆν ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Πραινεστῶν ὡς ἐξαρπασόμενος τῆς

2 πολιορκίας τῶν Μάριον ἐπελ Ἰσηθέτῳ Σύλλαν μὲν κατὰ στόμα, Πομπῆίον δὲ κατ᾽ οὐραν βοηδρομοῦντας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, εἰργόμενος τοῦ πρόσῳ καὶ ὕπίσω πολεμιστῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ μεγάλων ἄγωνων ἐμπειρος ἀρας νυκτὸς ἐπὶ αὕτην ἐχώρει παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῆς Ῥώμης. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν ἐδέσσεν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀφύλακτων ἀποσχων δὲ τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης δέκα στάδιους ἐπηυλίσατο τῇ πόλει, μεγαλοφρούνων καὶ ταῖς ἐπίσω ἐπημενέω ὡς τοσοῦτος ἤγεμόνας καὶ τηλικοῦτος κατεστρατη

3 γηκῶς. ἀμα δ᾽ ἡμέρα τῶν λαμπροτάτων νέων ἑξεππασμένων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ Κλαύδιον Ἀππιον, εύγενη καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, κατέβαλε. θρόβου δ᾽, ὅλον εἰκός, ὅντος ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ βοής γνωσικείας καὶ διαδρομῶν ὡς ἀλισκομένων κατὰ κράτος, πρῶτος ὀφθη Βάλβος

1 Cf. Plutarch’s Pompey, vi.—viii.
2 Cf. Plutarch’s Crassus, vi.
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success by his generals, Pompey, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius. For with few or no reverses these annihilated large forces of the enemy, so that Carbo, the chief supporter of the opposite faction, ran away from his own army by night, and sailed off to Libya.

XXIX. In Sulla’s last struggle, however, Telesinus the Samnite, like a third wrestler who sits by to contend with a weary victor, came near tripping and throwing him at the gates of Rome. For he had collected a large force, and was hastening, together with Lamponius the Lucanian, to Praeneste, in order to relieve Marius from the siege. But when he learned that Sulla to his front, and Pompey to his rear, were hurrying up against him, since he was being hemmed in before and behind, valiant and highly experienced soldier that he was, he broke camp by night, and marched with all his army against Rome itself. And he came within a little of breaking into the city in its unguarded state; indeed, he was only ten furlongs from the Colline gate when he bivouacked against it, highly encouraged and elated with hopes at the thought of having outgeneralled so many great commanders. And when, at day-break, the noblest youth of the city rode out against him, he overwhelmed many of them, including Appius Claudius, a man of high birth and character. There was a tumult in the city, naturally, and shrieking of women, and running hither and thither, as though the city were taken by storm, when Balbus, sent forward by Sulla, was first

3 At the close of the Social war, in 89 B.C., the Samnites and Lucanians alone persisted in their hostility to Rome. The Marian party had conciliated them, but they regarded Sulla as their bitterest foe.
άπο Σύλλεᾳ προσελαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἱππεύσαιν ἐπτακοσίως. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὅσον ἀναψύξαι τὸν ἱδρῶτα τῶν ἱππῶν, εἰτ’ αὐθίς ἐγχαλινώσας διὰ ταχέων ἐξήππτετο τῶν πολεμιῶν.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Σύλλας ἐφαίνετο: καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ευθὺς ἀριστάν κελεύων εἰς τάξιν καθίστη. πολλὰ δὲ Δολοβέλλα καὶ Τουρκουάτον δεομένων ἐπισχείν καὶ μὴ κατακόπτους ἔχοντα τοὺς ἁνδράς ἀποκοινώνεισαι περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων (οὐ γὰρ Κάρβωνα καὶ Μάριον, ἀλλὰ Σαρνίτας καὶ Δευκάνος, τὰ ἐχθοματά τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὰ πολεμικότατα φύλα, συμφέρεσθαι), παρωσάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν τὰς σάλπηγγας ἀρχὴν ἐφόδου, σχεδόν εἰς ὦραν δεκάτην ἢ δεῖ τῆς ἡμέρας καταστρεφόονης.

5 γενομένου δὲ ἀγώνος, οἶος οὐχ ἔτερος, τὸ μὲν δεξίων, ἐν δὲ Κρισσος ἐτέτακτο, λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα, τῷ δὲ εὐωνῦμῳ πουκοῦντι καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντι Σύλλας παρεβοήθει, λευκόν ἱππον ἔχων θυμοειδὴ καὶ ποδωκέστατον ἀφ’ οὐ γνωρίαστε αὐτὸν δύο τῶν πολεμιῶν διετείνοντο τὰς λόγχας ὡς ἀφήσαστε. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐ προενόεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἱπποκόμον μαστίξαντος τὸν ἱππον ἐφθα παρενεχθεῖς τοσοῦτον ὅσον περὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ἱππον τὰς αἰχμὰς συμπεσοῦσας εἰς τὴν γῆν παγώναι.

6 λέγεται δὲ ἔχων τις χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀεὶ μὲν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὰς μάχας περιφέρειν ἐν τῷ κόπτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τούτῳ καταφίλειν οὕτω δὴ λέγων: "Ὤ Πύθει Ἀπόλλων, τοῦ εὐτυχῆ Σύλλαν Κορνήλιον ἐν τοσοῦτοι ἄγωσιν ἄρας λαμπρὸν καὶ μέγαν ἐνταῦθα ῥίψεις ἐπὶ
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seen riding up at full speed with seven hundred horsemen. He paused just long enough to let the sweat of the horses dry off, and then quickly bridled them again and attacked the enemy.

At this juncture, Sulla also made his appearance, and ordering his vanguard to take food at once, proceeded to form them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus earnestly besought him to wait a while, and not to hazard the supreme issue with his men fatigued and spent; for they were to contend not with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the most inveterate enemies of Rome, and the most warlike of peoples. But he put them by, and commanded the trumpets to sound the charge, though it was now getting on towards four o’clock in the afternoon. In the struggle which followed, and no other was so fierce, the right wing, where Crassus was posted, was brilliantly successful; but the left was hard pressed and in a sorry plight, when Sulla came to its assistance, mounted on a white horse that was mettlesome and very swift. By this horse two of enemy recognised him, and poised their spears for the cast. Sulla himself, now, did not notice this, but his groom did, and with a cut of the lash succeeded in sending Sulla’s horse along so that the spear-heads just grazed its tail and fixed themselves in the ground. There is also a story that Sulla had a little golden image of Apollo from Delphi which he always carried in his bosom when he was in battle, but that on this occasion he took it out and kissed it affectionately, saying: “O Pythian Apollo, now that thou hast in so many struggles raised the fortunate Cornelius Sulla to glory and greatness, can it be that thou hast brought

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θύραις τῆς πατρίδος ἀγάγων, αὖσχιστα τοῖς 7 έαυτον συναπολούμενον πολίταις; τοιαύτα φασι τῶν Σύλλανθεοκλυτοῦντα τοὺς μὲν ἀντιβολεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τέλος δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου συντριβέντος ἀναμε-χθέντα τοὺς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατα-φυγεῖν, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντα τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ γνωρίμων. οὐκ δὴ λέγω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θέαν προελθόντες ἀπώλοντο καὶ κατεπατή-θησαν, ὡστε τὴν μὲν πόλιν οἰεσθαι διαπεπράχθαι, παρ’ δὴ λέγον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μαρίου πολιορκίαν λυ-θήμας, πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ὁσμαμένων ἔκει καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τεταγμένον 'Οφέλλαν Δουκρήτιον ἀναζευγνύναι κατὰ τάχος κελευόντων, ὡς ἀπολωλότος τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ τῆς 'Ρώμης ἔχο-μένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

XXX. Ἡδη δὲ νυκτὸς οὔσης βαθείας ἦκον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σύλλα στρατόπεδον παρὰ τοῦ Κράσσου δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μετιόντες· ὡς γὰρ εἰόκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰς "Ἀντεμναν κατα-διώξαντες ἔκει κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ταῦτ᾽ οὐν πυθόμενος ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων οἱ πλείστοι διολόωσιν, ἦκεν εἰς "Ἀντεμναν ἁμήμερα, καὶ τρισχιλίων ἐπικηρυκευμένων πρὸς αὐτῶν ὑπέσχετο δώσειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εἰ κακῶν τι τῶν ἄλλων ἐργασιμεῖον πολεμίων ἔλθοιν πρὸς 2 αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς λοιποῖς, καὶ πολλοὶ κατεκόπτησαν ὑπʼ ἄλληλων. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τούτους καὶ τῶν μένους εἰς ἔξακοισχίλιοι ἄθροισαν παρὰ τῶν ἰπ-άτομον, ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τῆς
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him to the gates of his native city only to cast him down there, to perish most shamefully with his fellow-countrymen?" Thus invoking the god, they say, he entreated some of his men, threatened others, and laid hands on others still; but at last his left wing was completely shattered, and with the fugitives he sought refuge in his camp, after losing many friends and acquaintances. Not a few also of those who had come out of the city to see the battle were trodden under foot and killed, so that it was thought that all was over with the city, and that the siege of Marius in Praeneste was all but raised; indeed many of the fugitives made their way thither and urged Lucretius Ofella, who had been appointed to conduct the siege, to break camp with all speed, since Sulla had fallen, and Rome was in the hands of the enemy.

XXX. But when the night was now far advanced, messengers came to the camp of Sulla from Crassus, to fetch supper for him and his soldiers; for after conquering the enemy, he had pursued them into Antemnae, and was encamped before that city. When, therefore, Sulla learned this, and also that the greater part of the enemy had been destroyed, he came to Antemnae at break of day. There three thousand of the inhabitants sent a deputation to him to sue for mercy, and he promised them safety if they would do some mischief to the rest of his enemies before coming to him. So they, trusting to his promise, attacked the rest of the people in the city, and many were slain by one another's hands. However, the survivors of both parties alike, to the number of six thousand, were collected by Sulla in the circus at Rome, and then the senate was
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Ενυώνς ιερόν. ἀμα δ' αὐτὸς τε λέγειν ἐνήρχετο καὶ κατέκοπτον οἱ τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἐξαικισχιλίουσ.

κραυγής δὲ, ως εἰκὸς, ἐν χωρίῳ μικρῷ τοσούτων σφαττομένων φερομένης καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐκπλαγέντων, ὡσπερ ἐτύχανε λέγων ἀτρέπτω καὶ καθεστηκότε τῷ προσώπῳ προσέχειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ δ' ἐξω γυνόμενα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν. νουθετεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐνίους τῶν πονηρῶν.

Τούτῳ καὶ τῷ βραδυτάτῳ Ἦρωμαίων νοῆσαι παρέστησεν ὡς ἀλλαγὴ τὸ χρῆμα τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴ γέγονε. Μάριος μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χαλεπὸς ὄν ἐπέτεινεν, οὐ μετέβαλε τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν. Σύλλας δὲ μετρίως τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πολιτικῶς ὀμιλήσας τῇ τύχῃ καὶ δόξαι ἀριστοκρατικοῦ καὶ δημοφιλοῦς ἡγεμόνος παρασχῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φιλόγελως ἐκ νέου γενόμενος καὶ πρὸς οἰκτον ύγρός, ὡστε ῥαδίως ἐπιδακρύειν, εἰκότως προστερψατο ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις διαβολῆν ὡς τὰ θῆ οὗεν οὗκ ἐώςας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τρόπων, ἀλλ' ἐμπληκτα καὶ χαῦνα καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα ποιούσας. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν εἴτε κίνησις ἐστι καὶ μεταβολὴ φύσεως ὑπὸ 472 τύχης, εἴτε μᾶλλον ὑποκειμένης ἀποκάλυψις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ κακίας, ἑτέρα τις ἀν διορίσειε πραγματεία.

XXXI. Τοῦ δὲ Σύλλα πρὸς τὸ σφάττειν τρα-
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summoned by him to meet in the temple of Bellona,¹ and at one and the same moment he himself began to speak in the senate, and those assigned to the task began to cut to pieces the six thousand in the circus. The shrieks of such a multitude, who were being massacred in a narrow space, filled the air, of course, and the senators were dumbfounded; but Sulla, with the calm and unmoved countenance with which he had begun to speak, ordered them to listen to his words and not concern themselves with what was going on outside, for it was only that some criminals were being admonished, by his orders.

This gave even the dullest Roman to understand that, in the matter of tyranny, there had been an exchange, but not a deliverance. Marius the elder, at any rate, had been naturally harsh at the outset, and power had intensified, not altered, his disposition; but Sulla had used his good fortune moderately, at first, and like a statesman, and had led men to expect in him a leader who was attached to the aristocracy, and at the same time helpful to the common people. Furthermore, from his youth up he had been of a merry temper, and easily moved to tears of pity. Naturally, therefore, his conduct fixed a stigma upon offices of great power, which were thought to work a change in men’s previous characters, and render them capricious, vain, and cruel. However, whether this is a change and reversal of nature, brought about by fortune, or rather a revelation, when a man is in authority, of underlying baseness, were matter for determination in some other treatise.

XXXI. Sulla now busied himself with slaughter,

¹ Both the circus (Flaminiius) and the temple were in the Campus Martius.
πομένου καὶ φόνων οὔτε ἀριθμὸν οὔτε ὀρον ἔχον-
tων ἐμπιπλάντος τῆς πόλεως, ἀναιρουμένων πολ-
λῶν καὶ κατ' ἱδίας ἔχθρας, οἷς οὔδεν ἦν πρᾶγμα
πρὸς Σύλλαν, ἐφιέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ χαριζομένου
τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἔτολμησε τῶν νέων εἰς, Γάιος
Μέτελλος, ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοῦ Σύλλα πυθέ-
σθαι τὶ πέρας ἔσται τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοὶ προ-
ελθόντος αὐτοῦ δεὶ πεπαύσθαι τὰ γινόμενα
2 προσδοκῶν. "Παραιτούμεθα γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὐχ
οὕς σὺ ἐγνωκας ἀναιρεῖν τῆς τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ
tῆς ἀμφιβολίας οὕς ἐγνωκας σώζειν." ἀπο-
κριμαμένου δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα μηδέπω γινώσκειν οὕς
ἀφίησιν, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Μέτελλος, "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη,
"δὴλωσον οὓς μέλλεις κολάζειν." καὶ ὁ Σύλλας
3 ἐφη τούτῳ ποιήσεως. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ τῶν Μέτελλον,
ἀλλὰ Φουφίδιον τινα τῶν πρὸς χάριν ὀμλούν-
tων τῷ Σύλλα τὸ τελευταῖον εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν.
ὁ δὲ οὕς Σύλλας εὐθὺς ὤγοδόκηκαν προέγραψεν,
οὐδεις τῶν ἐν τέλει κοινωσάμενος. ἀγανακτού-
tων δὲ πάντων, μᾶλις ἡμέραν διαλυπῶν ἄλλους
προέγραψεν εἰκοσὶ καὶ διακοσίους, εἶτα τρίτη
4 πάλιν οὐκ ἐλάττους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως δημηγορῶν
εἴπεν ὡς οὕς μεμνημένος τυγχάνων προγράφειν,
tοὺς δὲ νῦν διαλαύθαντας αὖθις προγράψειν.
προέγραψε δὲ τῷ μὲν ὑποδεξαμένῳ καὶ διασώ-
sαιτὶ τὸν προγεγραμμένον, ξημίαν τῆς φίλαν-
θρωπίας ὀρίζων θάνατον, οὗς ἄδελφόν, οὗς νιόν,
οὐ γονεῖς ὑπεξελόμενος, τῷ δὲ ἀποκτείναντι γέρας
and murders without number or limit filled the city. Many, too, were killed to gratify private hatreds, although they had no relations with Sulla, but he gave his consent in order to gratify his adherents. At last one of the younger men, Caius Metellus, made bold to ask Sulla in the senate what end there was to be of these evils, and how far he would proceed before they might expect such doings to cease. "We do not ask thee," he said, "to free from punishment those whom thou hast determined to slay, but to free from suspense those whom thou hast determined to save." And when Sulla answered that he did not yet know whom he would spare, "Well, then," said Metellus in reply, "let us know whom thou intendest to punish." This Sulla said he would do. Some, however, say that it was not Metellus, but Fufidius, one of Sulla's fawning creatures, who made this last speech to him. Be that as it may, Sulla at once proscribed 1 eighty persons, without communicating with any magistrate; and in spite of the general indignation, after a single day's interval, he proscribed two hundred and twenty others, and then on the third day, as many more. Referring to these measures in a public harangue, he said that he was proscribing as many as he could remember, and those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe at a future time. He also proscribed any one who harboured and saved a proscribed person, making death the punishment for such humanity, without exception of brother, son, or parents, but offering any one who slew a proscribed

1 A list of the persons proscribed was posted in public, and those whose names were on the list might be killed by any one who chose to do it.
δύο τάλαντα τῆς ἀνδροφονίας, καὶ δουλὸς δεσπό-την καὶ πατέρα νίὸς ἀνέλη. ὃ δὲ πάντων ἀδι-κότατον ἔδοξε, τῶν γὰρ προγεγραμμένων ἡτί-μοσε καὶ νίονται καὶ νιώνον, καὶ τὰ χρήματα 5 πάντων ἐδήμευσε. προειρήφοντο δὲ οὐκ ἐν ἩΡόμη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πόλει τῆς Ἱταλίας· καὶ φονευομένων οὗτε ναὸς ἤν καθαρὸς θεοῦ οὗτε ἐστία ξένιος οὗτε οἶκος πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ γυναικῶν γαμεταῖς ἄνδρες ἐσφαίτοιο καὶ παρὰ μητράσι παῖδες. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ δὲ ὄργην ἀπολλύμενοι καὶ δὲ ἔχθραν οὐδὲν μέρος τῶν διὰ χρήματα σφαττομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν ἐπῆει τοῖς κολάξουσιν ὡς τόνδε μὲν ἀνήρηκεν οἰκίαι μεγάλη, τόνδε δὲ κυπτός, ἄλλον ὦδατα 6 θέρμα. Κοίντος δὲ Αὐρήλιος, ἀνήρ ἀπράγμων καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ μετείπαι τῶν κακῶν νομίζων ὅσον ἀλλοις συναλληχεῖ ἀτυχοῦσιν, εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐλθὼν ἀνεχοῦσκε τοὺς προγεγραμμένους· εὐρήν δὲ ἐαυτόν, “Οἶμοι τάλας,” εἴπε, “διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἅλβανῳ χωρίον.” καὶ βραχὺ προελθὼν ὑπὸ τινος ἀπεσφάγή καταδιώξαντος.

XXXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μάριος μὲν ἄλισκόμενος ἐαυτὸν διέφθειρε, Σύλλας δὲ εἰς Πραινεστὸν ἐλθὼν πρῶτα μὲν ἱδίᾳ καὶ ἀνδρὰ κρίνων ἐκό- λαξεν, εἴτε ως οὐ σχολῆς οὕτως πάντας άθρώως εἰς ταύτῳ συναγώγων, μυρίους καὶ δισεκλίους ὅντας, ἐκέλευσεν ἀποσφάττειν, μόνῳ τῷ ἔνω 428
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person two talents as a reward for his murderous deed, even though a slave should slay his master, or a son his father. And what seemed the greatest injustice of all, he took away all civil rights from the sons and grandsons of those who had been proscribed, and confiscated the property of all. Moreover, proscriptions were made not only in Rome, but also in every city of Italy, and neither temple of God, nor hearth of hospitality, nor paternal home was free from the stain of bloodshed, but husbands were butchered in the embraces of their wedded wives, and sons in the arms of their mothers. Those who fell victims to political resentment and private hatred were as nothing compared with those who were butchered for the sake of their property, nay, even the executioners were prompted to say that his great house killed this man, his garden that man, his warm baths another. Quintus Aurelius, a quiet and inoffensive man, who thought his only share in the general calamity was to condole with others in their misfortunes, came into the forum and read the list of the proscribed, and finding his own name there, said, “Ah! woe is me! my Alban estate is prosecuting me.” And he had not gone far before he was dispatched by some one who had hunted him down.

XXXII. Meanwhile Marius the younger, at the point of being captured,¹ slew himself; and Sulla, coming to Praeneste, at first gave each man there a separate trial before he executed him, but afterwards, since time failed him, gathered them all together in one place—there were twelve thousand of them—and gave orders to slaughter them, his host

¹ According to Appian (Bell. Civ. i. 94), as he was trying to escape from Praeneste by an underground passage.
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didous ἀδειαν. ὁ δὲ εὐγενῶς πάνυ φήσας πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς οὐδέποτε σωτηρίας χάριν εἰσεται τῷ φοιεῖ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀναμιχθεὶς ἐκὼν συγκατέκόπτῃ τὸι πολίταις. ἔδοξε δὲ καινότατον γενέσθαι τὸ περὶ Λεύκιου Κατιλίναν. οὕτος γὰρ οὕτω τῶν πραγμάτων κεκριμένων ἀνηρηκὼς ἀδελφὸν ἔδειξε τοῦ Σύλλα τότε προγράψαι τὸν ἀνθρωπον ὡς ξώντα· καὶ προεγράφη. τούτου δὲ τῷ Σύλλᾳ χάριν ἐκτίνων Μάρκου τινὰ Μάριον τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἑναντίας στάσεως ἀποκτείνας τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν ἱγορᾷ καθεξομένῳ τῷ Σύλλᾳ προσήνεγκε, τῷ δὲ περιρραντηρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγγύς ὄντι προσεδέθων ἀπενύψατο τὰς χεῖρας.

XXXIII. Ἐξὼ δὲ τῶν φονικῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τούς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύπει. δικτάτορα μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἀνηγόρευσε, δι' ἐτῶν ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν. ἐψηφίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ πάντων ἀδεια τῶν γεγονότων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἔξουσία θανάτου, δημοψήφεως, κληρονομίας, κτίσεως, πορθήσεως, ἀφελέσθαι βασιλείαν, καὶ φ’ 1 βούλοιτο χαρίσασθαι. τὰς δὲ διαπράσεις τῶν δεδημευμένων οὐκών οὕτως ὑπερηφάνους ἐποιεῖτο καὶ δεσποτικῶς ἐπὶ βήματος καθεξομένως, ὡστε τῶν ἀφαιρέσεων ἐπαχθεστέρας αὐτοῦ τὰς δωρεὰς εἶναι, καὶ γυναῖξιν εὐμορφοῖς καὶ λυρῳδοῖς καὶ μίμοις καὶ καθάρμασιν ἐξελευθερικοῖς ἔθνων χώρας καὶ πόλεων χαριζομένου προσόδους, ἐνοίος δὲ γάμους ἀκούσιως 3 ζευγνυμένων γυναικῶν. Πομπήιον γε τοι βου-

1 καὶ φ with Bekker, after Reiske: φ.

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alone receiving immunity. But this man, with a noble spirit, told Sulla that he would never owe his safety to the slayer of his country, and joining his countrymen of his own accord, was cut down with them. But that which Lucius Catiline did was thought to be most monstrous of all. This man, namely, had killed his brother before the civil struggle was decided, and now asked Sulla to proscribe the man, as one still living; and he was proscribed. Then Catiline, returning this favour of Sulla's, killed a certain Marcus Marius, one of the opposite faction, and brought his head to Sulla as he was sitting in the forum, and then going to the lustral water of Apollo which was near, washed the blood off his hands.

XXXIII. But besides his massacres, the rest of Sulla's proceedings also gave offence. For he proclaimed himself dictator,\(^1\) reviving this particular office after a lapse of a hundred and twenty years. Moreover, an act was passed granting him immunity for all his past acts, and for the future, power of life and death, of confiscation, of colonization, of founding or demolishing cities, and of taking away or bestowing kingdoms at his pleasure. He conducted the sales of confiscated estates in such arrogant and imperious fashion, from the tribunal where he sat, that his gifts excited more odium than his robberies. He bestowed on handsome women, musicians, comic actors, and the lowest of freedmen, the territories of nations and the revenues of cities, and women were married against their will to some of his favourites. In the case of Pompey the Great,\(^2\) at least,

\(^1\) In 81 B.C.
\(^2\) The title of Great was first bestowed on him by Sulla himself (cf. *Pompey*, xiii. 4).
λόμενος οἰκειώσασθαι τῶν Μάγνων, ἤν μὲν εἰχὲ γαμῆτην ἄφειναι προσέταξεν, Αἰμιλίαν δὲ, Σκαύρον θυγατέρα καὶ Μετέλλης τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γυναικὸς, ἀποσπάσας Μανίου Γλαβρίωνος ἐγκύμωνα, συνήκισεν αὐτῷ ἀπέθανε δὲ ἡ κόρη παρὰ τῷ
4 Πομπηίῳ τίκτουσα. Δουκρητίου δὲ Ὁφέλλα τοῦ Μάριου ἑκπολιορκήσαντος αἰτουμένου καὶ μετιόντος ὑπατείαν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκώλυεν ὡς δὲ ἐκείνοις ὑπὸ πολλῶν σπουδαζόμενος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν ἐνέβαλε, πέμψας τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκατονταρχῶν ἀπέσφαξε τὸν ἄνδρα, καθεξόμενος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ βῆματος ἐν τῷ Διοσκουρεῖῳ καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐφορῶν ἀνωθεν. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἐκατοντάρχην συλλαβόντων καὶ προσαγαγόντων τῷ βῆματι, σωπήσας κελεύσας τοὺς θορυβούντας αὐτὸς ἔφη κελεύσαι τούτο, καὶ τὸν ἐκατοντάρχην ἄφειναι προσέταξεν.

XXXIV. Ὁ μέντοι θράειμος αὐτοῦ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ καινότητι τῶν βασιλικῶν λαφύρων σοβαρὸς γενόμενος μείζονα κόσμον ἐσχε καὶ καλὸν θέαμα τοὺς φυγάδας. οἱ γὰρ ἐνδοξότατοι καὶ δυνατότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἑστεφανωμένοι παρείποντο, σωτῆρα καὶ πατέρα τῶν Σύλλων ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἀτε δὴ διὰ ἐκείνων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατιόντες καὶ κομιζόμενοι παῖδας καὶ γυναικάς.

2 ἡδὴ δὲ συνηρημένων ἀπάντων, ἀπολογισμὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν πράξεων ποιούμενος οὐκ ἐλάσσον σπουδὴ τᾶς ἐυτυχίας ἢ τᾶς ἀνδραγαθίας κατηρθεῖτο, καὶ πέρας ἐκέλευσεν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἐυτυχῆ προσαγορεύεσθαι τούτο γὰρ ο
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wishing to establish relationship with him, he ordered him to divorce the wife he had, and then gave him in marriage Aemilia, daughter of Scaurus and his own wife Metella, whom he tore away from Manius Glabrio when she was with child by him; and the young woman died in childbirth at the house of Pompey.¹ Lucretius Ofella, who had reduced Marius by siege, gave himself out as a candidate for the consulship, and Sulla at first tried to stop him; but when Ofella came down into the forum with a large and eager following, he sent one of the centurions in his retinue and slew him, himself sitting on a tribunal in the temple of Castor and beholding the murder from above. The people in the forum seized the centurion and brought him before the tribunal, but Sulla bade them cease their clamour, and said that he himself had ordered this deed, and commanded them to let the centurion go.

XXXIV. His triumph, however, which was imposing from the costliness and rarity of the royal spoils, had a greater ornament in the noble spectacle of the exiles. For the most distinguished and influential of the citizens, crowned with garlands, followed in the procession, calling Sulla their saviour and father, since indeed it was through him that they were returning to their native city and bringing with them their wives and children. And when at last the whole spectacle was over, he gave an account of his achievements in a speech to the people, enumerating the instances of his good fortune with no less emphasis than his deeds of valour, and finally, in view of these, he ordered that he receive the surname of Fortunate (for this is what the word

¹ Cf. Plutarch's Pompey, ix. 2.
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Φήλιξ μάλιστα βούλεται δηλούν· αύτος δὲ τοῦς Ἐλλησι γράφων καὶ χρηματίζων έαυτὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἀνηγόρευε, καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τροπαίοις οὕτως ἀναγέργαται. ΔΕΤΚΙΟΣ ΚΟΡ-

3 ΝΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΤΑΔΑΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣ. έτι δὲ τῆς Μετέλλης παιδία τεκούσης δίδυμα τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν Φαὐστον, τὸ δὲ θήλη Φαῦσταν ὁφόμασε· τὸ γὰρ εὐτυχές καὶ ἱλαρὸν Ρωμαίοι φαῦστον καλοῦσιν. οὕτω δὲ ἁρα οὐ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὡς τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπίστευεν, ὡστε, παμπόλλων μὲν ἀνηρμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καινοτομίας δὲ γενομένης καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοσαύτης, ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἄρχαιρεσιῶν ὑπατικῶν ποιῆσαι κύριον, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ προσέλθειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸ σῶμα παρέχον τοῖς βουλομένοις ὑπεύθυνον ὡσπερ ἰδιώτης ἀναστρέφεται.

4 σθαί. καὶ τις παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἑρασύς ἀνήρ καὶ πολέμους ἐπίδοξος ήν ὑπάτος αἰρεθήσεσθαι, Μάρκος Λέπιδος, οὗ δὲ ἔαυτόν, ἀλλὰ Πομπηῖος σπουδάζοντι καὶ ἰδομένῳ τοῦ δῆμον χαριζομένου.

5 διὸ καὶ χαίροντα τῇ νίκῃ τὸν Πομπήιον ὁ Σύλλας ἰδὼν ἀπίσταν καλέσας πρὸς ἐαυτὸν, “Ὡς καλόν,” ἔφη, “σοῦ τὸ πολίτευμα, ὦ νεανία, τὸ Κάτλου πρότερον ἀναγορεύσαι Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τὸν ἐμπληκτότατον. ὥρα μέντοι σοι μὴ καθεύδειν ὡς ἱσχυρότερον πεποιηκότι κατὰ σαυτοῦ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν.” τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας 474 ὡσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε· ταχὺ γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας ὁ Λέπι-
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"Felix" most nearly means). But he himself, in writing to the Greeks on official business, styled himself Epaphroditus, or Favourite of Venus,¹ and on his trophies in our country his name is thus inscribed: Lucius Cornelius Sulla Epaphroditus. Besides this, when Metella bore him twin children, he named the male child Faustus, and the female Fausta; for the Romans call what is auspicious and joyful, "faustum." And to such an extent did he put more confidence in his good fortunes than in his achievements, that, although he had slain great numbers of the citizens, and introduced great innovations and changes in the government of the city,² he laid down his office of dictator, and put the consular elections in the hands of the people; and when they were held, he did not go near them himself, but walked up and down the forum like a private man, exposing his person freely to all who wished to call him to account. Contrary to his wishes, a certain bold enemy of his was likely to be chosen consul, Marcus Lepidus, not through his own efforts, but owing to the success which Pompey had in soliciting votes for him from the people. And so, when Sulla saw Pompey going away from the polls delighted with his victory, he called him to him, and said:³ "What a fine policy this is of thine, young man, to elect Lepidus in preference to Catulus, the most unstable instead of the best of men! Now, surely, it is high time for thee to be watchful, after strengthening thine adversary against thyself." And in saying this, Sulla was something of a prophet; for

¹ Cf. chapter xix. 5 and note.
² Sulla restored the ancient powers of the senate, and reduced those of the tribunate. He resigned the dictatorship in 79 b.c.
³ Cf. Pompey, xv. 1 f.
δος εἰς πόλεμον κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον.

XXXV. Ἀποθών ἔδιδε τῆς οὐσίας ἀπάσης ὁ Σύλλας τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δεκάτην ἑστιάσεις ἐποιεῖτο τῷ δήμῳ πολυτελεῖς· καὶ τοσοῦτον περιττῇ ἦν ἡ παρασκευὴ τῆς χρείας ὡστε παμπληθῇ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἠμέραν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ὄψις ῥηπτεῖσθαι, πίνεσθαι δὲ οὖν ἐτῶν τεσσάρικατα καὶ παλαιότερον. διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς θολῆς πολυτελέους γενομένης ἀπέθησακεν ἡ Μετέλλα νόσῳ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν Σύλλαν οὐκ ἔῶντων αὐτῇ προσέλθειν οὐδὲ τῆς οἰκίας τῷ κήδει μιανθῆναι, γραψάμενος διάλυσιν τοῦ γάμου πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι ἤξιον ἐκέλευσεν εἰς ἐτέραν οἰκίαν μετακυμοσθῆναι. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἀκριβῶς τὸ νόμιμον ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐτήρησε· τὸν δὲ τῆς ταφῆς ὅριζον τὴν δαπάνην νόμον αὐτὸς εἰσειπηνοχώς παρέβη.

3 μηδενός ἀναλώματος φεισάμενος. παρέβαινε δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐπορείας τῶν δειπναίον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τεταγμένα, πότοις καὶ συνιδεῖνοις τρυφᾶς καὶ βωμολοχίας ἔχουσι παρηγορῶν τὸ πένθος.

'Ολίγων δὲ μηνίων διαγεγομένων ἦν μὲν θέα μονομάχων, οὕτω δὲ τῶν τόπων διακεκριμένων, ἀλλ’ ἔτι τοῦ θεάτρου συμμιγών ἀνδρᾶς καὶ γυναικῶν ὄντος, ἔτυχε πλησίον τοῦ Σύλλα καθεξομένη γυνὴ τῆς ὄψιν εὐπρεπῆς καὶ γένους λαμπροῦ.

4 Μεσσάλα γὰρ ἦν θυγάτηρ, 'Ορτησίου δὲ τοῦ ἱήτορος Ἀδελφῆς, Οὐαλλερία δὲ τούνομα· συνεβεβίκει δὲ αὐτῇ νεωστὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα διάστασις. αὐτὴ παρὰ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐξοπισθεῖν παραπορευόμενή την τις χείρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπηρείσατο καὶ
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Lepidus speedily waxed insolent and went to war with Pompey and his party.¹

XXXV. On consecrating the tenth of all his substance to Hercules, Sulla feasted the people sumptuously, and his provision for them was so much beyond what was needed that great quantities of meats were daily cast into the river, and wine was drunk that was forty years old and upwards. In the midst of the feasting, which lasted many days, Metella lay sick and dying. And since the priests forbade Sulla to go near her, or to have his house polluted by her funeral, he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while she was still living. In doing this, he observed the strict letter of the law, out of superstition; but the law limiting the expense of the funeral, which law he had himself introduced, he transgressed, and spared no outlays. He transgressed also his own ordinances limiting the cost of banquets, when he tried to assuage his sorrow by drinking parties and convivial banquets, where extravagance and ribaldry prevailed.

A few months afterwards there was a gladiatorial spectacle, and since the places for men and women in the theatre were not yet separated,² but still promiscuous, it chanced that there was sitting near Sulla a woman of great beauty and splendid birth; she was a daughter of Messala, a sister of Hortensius the orator, and her name was Valeria, and it so happened that she had recently been divorced from her husband. As she passed along behind Sulla, she rested her hand upon him, plucked off a bit of nap

¹ On the death of Sulla, in 78 B.C., Lepidus headed an insurrection, and attempted to overthrow the constitution. Pompey adhered to the senatorial party (Cf. Pompey, xvi.).
² As they were in the time of Augustus.
κροκύδα τοῦ ἱματίου σπάσασα παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτής χώραν. ἐμβλέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ θαυμάσαντος, "Οὐδέν," ἔφη, "δεινόν, αὐτόκρατορ, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι τῆς σής καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν ἐν τυχίας μεταλαβεῖν." Τούτῳ ἦκουσεν οὐκ ἁγδῶς ὁ Σύλλας, ἀλλὰ καὶ δήλος εὐθὺς ἦν ὑποκεκυσμένος· ἤρωτα γὰρ ὑποτέμπων αὐτῆς ὄνομα, καὶ γένος καὶ βίον ἐμάνθανεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ρύψεις ὦμάτων ἔπ’ ἀλλήλους ἐγίνοντο καὶ παρεπιστροφαὶ συνεχεῖς προσώπων καὶ μειδιαμάτων διαδόσεις, τέλος δὲ ὀμολογίαι καὶ συνθέσεις περὶ γάμων, ἐκείνη μὲν ἵσως ἄμεμπτοι, Σύλλας δὲ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα σώφρονα καὶ γενναίαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ σώφρονος καὶ καλῆς ἔγημεν ἄρχης, ὦ οἴει καὶ λαμπρὸς μειρακίου δίκην παραβληθεῖς, ὥς ὄν τὰ ἀξιόστια καὶ ἀναιδέστατα πάθη κινεῖσθαι πέφυκεν.

XXXVI. Οὗ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας συνῆν μίμοις γυναιξὶ καὶ κιθαριστρίαις καὶ θυμελικῷς ἄνθρώποις, ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἃφημέρας συμπίνου. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ τότε παρ’ αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι μέγιστον ἤσαν, Ῥωσκίου ὁ κωμῳδός καὶ Σόριξ ὁ ἀρχιμῖμος καὶ Μητρόβιος ὁ λυσιφόδος, οὗ καίπερ ἔξωρον γενομένου διετέλει μέχρι παντὶ τὸς ἐρᾶν οὐκ ἄρνούμενος. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν νόσον ἀπ’ αὐτίας ἐλαφρῶς ἀρξαμένην ἐξῆθρεψε, καὶ πολὴν χρόνον ἦγνοει περὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα γεγονός ἐμπύρως, ὥς ἢ καὶ τὴν σαρκα διαφθαρεῖσαν εἰς φθείρας μετέβαλε πᾶσαν, ὡστε πολλῶν δ’ ἡμέρας ἀμα καὶ νυκτὸς ἀφαιρούσων μηδὲν εἶναι μέρος τοῦ ἐπιγνωμένου τὸ ἀποκρινόμενου, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἐσθῆτα καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἀπόνιμμα καὶ σιτίων 438
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from his mantle, and then proceeded to her own place. When Sulla looked at her in astonishment, she said: "It's nothing of importance, Dictator, but I too wish to partake a little in thy felicity." Sulla was not displeased at hearing this, nay, it was at once clear that his fancy was tickled, for he secretly sent and asked her name, and inquired about her family and history. Then followed mutual glances, continual turnings of the face to gaze, interchanges of smiles, and at last a formal compact of marriage. All this was perhaps blameless on her part, but Sulla, even though she was ever so chaste and reputable, did not marry her from any chaste and worthy motive; he was led away, like a young man, by looks and languishing airs, through which the most disgraceful and shameless passions are naturally excited.

XXXVI. However, even though he had such a wife at home, he conorted with actresses, harpists, and theatrical people, drinking with them on couches all day long. For these were the men who had most influence with him now: Roscius the comedian, Sorex the archmimé, and Metrobius the impersonator of women, for whom, though past his prime, he continued up to the last to be passionately fond, and made no denial of it. By this mode of life he aggravated a disease which was insignificant in its beginnings, and for a long time he knew not that his bowels were ulcerated. This disease corrupted his whole flesh also, and converted it into worms, so that although many were employed day and night in removing them, what they took away was as nothing compared with the increase upon him, but all his clothing,

1 Cf. chapter ii. 4.
αναπήλπασθαί τοῦ δεύματος ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῆς
3 φθορᾶς· τοσοῦτον ἐξήνθει. διὸ πολλάκις τῆς
ήμερας εἰς ὅπωρ ἐνέβαινεν ἐκκλήσιών τὸ σῶμα καὶ
アップφορρυπτόμενος. ἢν δὲ οὐδὲν ὀφέλος. ἐκράτει
γὰρ ἡ μεταβολὴ τῷ τάχει, καὶ περιεγίνετο παντὸς
καθαρμοῦ τῷ πλήθος.

Δένεται δὲ τῶν μὲν πάνω πολλαῖς Ἀκαστοῦν
φθειριάσαντα τῶν Πελίου τελευτήσαι, τῶν δὲ
υστερῶν Ἀλκμάνα τὸν μελοποιῶν καὶ Φερεκυθήν
τὸν θεολόγον καὶ Καλλισθένη τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἐν
eἰρκτῇ φρονούμενον, ἔτι δὲ Μούκιον τὸν νομικῶν.

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εἰ δὲ δεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς μὲν χρηστοῦ γυμνο-
μον δὲ ἄλλως ἐπιμυνησθῆναι, λέγεται τὸν ἄρξαντα
τοῦ δουλικοῦ πολέμου περὶ Σικελίαν δραπέτην,
Εὐνου ὄνομα, μετὰ τὴν ἀλωσιν εἰς Ἀρώμην ἀγό-
μενον ύπὸ φθειριάσεως ἀποθανεῖν.

XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ μόνον προέγνω
τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ
γέγραφε περὶ αὐτῆς. τὸ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεύ-
tερον τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πρὸ δυεῖν ἡμερῶν ἢ
ἔτελεύτα γράφων ἐπαύσατο· καὶ ψήν τῶς
Χαλδαίων αὐτῷ προεπέει ὡς δέοι βεβιωκότα
καλῶς αὐτῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων κατα-

2 στρέψαι. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τεθυγκοτά
μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς Μετέλλης, φανήκαι κατὰ
tοὺς ὑπόν ἐν ἐσθῆτι φαύλη παρεστῶτα καὶ
dεόμενον τοῦ πατρὸς παύσασθαι τῶν φροντίδων,
ιόντα δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν μητέρα Μετέλλαν
ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπραγμόνως βὴν μετ’ αὐτῆς. οὐ
3 μὴν ἐπαύσατο γε τοῦ πράττειν τὰ δημόσια. δέκα
μὲν γὰρ ἡμέραις ἐμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτής τοὺς
ἐν Δικαιαρχεία στασίαζοντας διαλλάξας νόμον
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baths, hand-basins, and food, were infected with that flux of corruption, so violent was its discharge. Therefore he immersed himself many times a-day in water to cleanse and scour his person. But it was of no use; for the change gained upon him rapidly, and the swarm of vermin defied all purification.

We are told that in very ancient times, Acastus the son of Pelias was thus eaten of worms and died, and in later times, Aleman the lyric poet, Pherecydes the theologian, Callisthenes of Olynthus, who was kept closely imprisoned, as also Mucius the jurist; and if mention is to be made of men who had no excellence to commend them, but were notorious for other reasons, it is said that the runaway slave who headed the servile war in Sicily, Eunus by name, was taken to Rome after his capture, and died there of this disease.

XXXVII. Sulla not only foresaw his own death, but may be said to have written about it also. For he stopped writing the twenty-second book of his Memoirs two days before he died, and he there says that the Chaldaeans foretold him that, after an honourable life, he was to end his days at the height of his good fortunes. He says also that his son, who had died a little while before Metella, appeared to him in his dreams, clad in mean attire, and besought his father to put an end to anxious thoughts, and come with him to his mother Metella, there to live in peace and quietness with her. However, he did not cease to transact the public business. For instance, ten days before he died, he reconciled the opposing factions in Dicaearchia, and prescribed a code of

1 B.C. 134; cf. Diodorus, xxxiv. 2, 23.
2 An earlier name for Puteoli.
Εγραφεν αὐτοῖς καθ' ὅν πολιτεύσονται πρὸ μῆς
δὲ ἡμέρας πυθόμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα Γράνιουν, ὡς
οὐ σείλων δημόσιον χρέος οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ
ἀναμένει τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν
ἀνθρώπον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ περιστήμας τοὺς
ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσε πάνυ γεῖν, τῇ δὲ κραυγῇ καὶ τῷ
σπαραγμῷ τὸ ἀπόστημα ρήξας πλῆθος αὕρατος
ἐξέβαλεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιληπτοῦ-
σης διαγαγὼν τὴν νύκτα μοχθηρὰς ἄπέθανε, δύο
παίδας ἕκ τῆς Μετέλλης νηπίους καταλιπὼν. ἡ
γὰρ Οὐαλλερία μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν αὐτοῦ θυγά-
τριον ἀπεκύψεν, δὲ Πόστουμαν ἐκάλουν. τοὺς γὰρ
ὕστερον τῆς τῶν πατέρων τελευτῆς γενομένους
οὗτο Ῥωμαίοι προσαγορεύοντοι.

XXXVIII. Ὕμησαν μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ καὶ
συνέστησαν πρὸς Λέπιδον ὡς εἴρησον τὸ σῶμα
κηδείας τῆς γενομεσίνης. Πομπήιος δὲ, καίπερ
ἐγκαλῶν τῷ Σύλλα (μόνον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς
diαθήκαις τῶν υἱῶν παρέλπη), τοῦς μὲν χαρίτε
καὶ δεήσει, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλῇ διακρουσάμενος εἰς
Ῥώμην παρέπεμψε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς

2 ἀσφάλειαν ἀμα καὶ τιμὴν παρέσχε. λέγεται δὲ
τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἀρωμάτων ἐπενεγκεῖν τὰς γυναι-
κας αὐτῷ ὕστε ἄνευ τῶν ἐν φορήμασι δέκα καὶ
diακοσίοις διακομιζόμενοι πλασθῆναι μὲν εἰδω-
λοις εὐμέγεθες αὐτοῦ Σύλλα, πλασθήναι δὲ καὶ
ῥαβδοῦχον ἐκ τῶν λιβανωτῶν πολυτελῶς καὶ
kυναμόμου. τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας συνεφούς ἔσθεν
οὕς, ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ προσδοκώντες ἐνάτης

3 ἦραν μόλις ὃρας τῶν νεκρῶν. ἀνέμου δὲ λαμπροῦ
laws for their conduct of the city’s government; and one day before he died, on learning that the magistrate there, Granius, refused to pay a debt he owed the public treasury, in expectation of his death, he summoned him to his room, stationed his servants about him, and ordered them to strangle him; but with the strain which he put upon his voice and body, he ruptured his abscess and lost a great quantity of blood. In consequence of this his strength failed, and after a night of wretchedness, he died, leaving two young children by Metella.\footnote{Cf. chapter xxxiv. 3.} For it was after his death that Valeria gave birth to a daughter, who was called Postuma, this being the name which the Romans give to children who are born after their father’s death.

XXXVIII. Many now joined themselves eagerly to Lepidus, purposing to deprive Sulla’s body of the usual burial honours; but Pompey, although offended at Sulla (for he alone, of all his friends, was not mentioned in his will), diverted some from their purpose by his kindly influence and entreaties, and others by his threats, and then conveyed the body to Rome, and secured for it an honourable as well as a safe interment. And it is said that the women contributed such a vast quantity of spices for it, that, apart from what was carried on two hundred and ten litters, a large image of Sulla himself, and another image of a lictor, was moulded out of costly frankincense and cinnamon. The day was cloudy in the morning, and the expectation was that it would rain, but at last, at the ninth hour,\footnote{\textit{i.e.} in the middle of the afternoon.} the corpse was placed upon the funeral pyre. Then a strong wind smote
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καταγίσαντος εἰς τὴν πυρὰν καὶ φλόγα πολλήν ἐγείραντος ἔφθη τὸ σῶμα συγκομισθέν ὅσον ἦδη τῆς πυρᾶς μαρατομένης καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπίοντος ἐκχυθήναι πολὺν ὀμβρον καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀχρὶ νυκτός, ὅπει τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν τὸ σῶμα 4 συνθάπτειν παραμένουσαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν μημεῖον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ Ἀρεώς ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμά φασίν αὐτὸν ὑπογραφώμενον καταλιπεῖν, οὐ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ὡς οὔτε τῶν φίλων τις αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακῶς ὑπερεβάλετο.

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΛΛΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

ι. Ἔπει δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου διεληλύθαμεν βίον, ὰμεν ἦδη πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄφ’ ἑαυτῶν αὔξησεως ἅρχὴν λαβοῦσι μεγάλοις γενόσθαι κοινῶν ἀμφοτέροις ὑπήρξεν, ὡδιν δὲ Λυσάνδρου τὸ βουλομένων τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ὑγιαινόντων ὅσας ἔσχεν ἅρχὰς λαβεῖν, βιάσασθαι δὲ μηδὲν ἀκόντων μηδ’ ἵσχυσαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους.

2 Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ο πάγκακος ἐλλαχε τιμῆς,

ὡσπερ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τότε διεφθαρμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ νοσοῦντος αὐτοὶς τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀλλὸς 476 ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνίστατο δυνάστης. καὶ οὔδεν ἦν θαυμαστὸν εἰ Σύλλας ἦρχεν, ὅτε Πλαύκτη καὶ

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the pyre, and roused a mighty flame, and there was just time to collect the bones for burial, while the pyre was smouldering and the fire was going out, when a heavy rain began to fall, which continued till night. Therefore his good fortune would seem to have lasted to the very end, and taken part in his funeral rites. At any rate, his monument stands in the Campus Martius, and the inscription on it, they say, is one which he wrote for it himself, and the substance of it is, that no friend ever surpassed him in kindness, and no enemy in mischief.

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COMPARISON OF LYSANDER AND SULLA

I. And now since we have completed this Life also, let us come at once to the Comparison. In this respect, then, they were alike, namely, that both were founders of their own greatness; but it was a peculiar virtue in Lysander that he obtained all his high offices with the consent of his fellow-citizens, and when affairs were in a sound condition; he did not force anything from them against their will, nor did he acquire any power which was contrary to the laws.

"But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour," ¹

and so in Rome at that time, since the people was corrupt and their government in a distempered state, men of various origin rose to power. And it was no wonder that Sulla held sway, when such men as

¹ A proverb in hexameter verse, attributed to Callimachus of Alexandria. Plutarch uses it also in the Nicias, xi. 3, and in Morals, p. 479 a.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΑΔΙΟΣ ἡλανυν ἑκ τῆς πόλεως, ὑπάτων δὲ ἀπεσφάττοντο παῖδες ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀργυρῷ δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ τὰ ὄπλα παρελάμβανον ὄνομαν ὑπὸ τόσον στρατευμένος, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ σιδήρῳ τοὺς νόμους ἐτίθεσαν βιαζόμενοι τοὺς 3 ἀντιλέγοντας. οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι δὲ τὸν ἐν τοιούτοις πράγμασι μέγιστον ἵσχυσαι διαπραξάμενον; ἀλλὰ σημεῖον οὐ τίθεμαι τοῦ βέλτιστον εἶναι τὸ γενέσθαι πρῶτον οὕτω πονηρὰ πραττούσης τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐνομουμένης τότε μάλιστα καὶ σωφρονούσης ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἔκπεμπόμενος ἡγεμονίας καὶ πράξεις σχέδου ἀρίστων ἀριστοὺ ἐκρίνετο καὶ πρῶτων πρῶτος. 4 θέν ὁ μὲν πολλάκις τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀποδοὺς τοῖς πολίταις ἀνέλαβε πολλάκις· διέμενε γὰρ ἡ τιμὴ τῆς ἁρετῆς ἔχουσα τὸ πρωτείου· ὁ δὲ ἀπαξ αἰρεθεὶς στρατεύματος ἡγεμόνων, ἐτη συνεχῶς δέκα, νῦν μὲν ὑπατοῦ, νῦν δὲ δικτάτορα ποιῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀεὶ δὲ ὅν τύραννος, ἐν τοῖς ὑπόλοις ἔμενεν.

II. Ἐπεχείρησε μὲν οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡς εἰρηται, μεταστήσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πράττειν καὶ νομιμότερον ἡ Σύλλασ· πειθώ γὰρ, οὐ δ’ ὁπλῶν οὐδὲ πάντα συλλήβδην ἀναιρῶν, ὃσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν ἐπανορθούμενος τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν βασιλέων· δ’ καὶ φύσει ποιοί δικαίου ἑδόκει, τὸν ἐξ ἀρίστων ἀριστοῦ ἄρχειν ἐν πόλει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγουμένη δ’ ἁρετήν, οὐ 2 δ’ εὐγένειαν. ὃσπερ γὰρ κυνηγὸς οὗ ζητεῖ τὸ ἐκ κυνός, ἀλλὰ κύνα, καὶ ἐπικός ἤππου, οὐ τὸ ἐξ ἤππου τί γάρ, ἄν ἐξ ἤππου ἡμῖνος γένηται;

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Glaucia and Saturninus drove such men as Metellus from the city, when sons of consuls were butchered in assemblies, when silver and gold purchased arms and men to wield them, and laws were enacted with fire and sword in defiance of all opposition. Now I do not blame the man who, in such a state of affairs, forced his way to supreme power; but I cannot regard his becoming first man, when the city was in such an evil plight, as a proof that he was also the best man. Whereas Lysander, since Sparta was at the height of good government and sobriety when she sent him forth upon the greatest commands and undertakings, was virtually decided to be first of her first men, and best of her best. Lysander, therefore, though he often surrendered his power into the hands of his fellow-citizens, as often received it back again, since the honour accorded to virtue continued to rank highest in the state; but Sulla, when he had once been chosen leader of an army, remained in arms for ten years together, making himself now consul, and now dictator, but always being a usurper.

II. It is true, indeed, that Lysander attempted, as I have said, to change the form of government, but it was by milder and more legal methods than Sulla's; by persuasion, namely, not by force of arms, nor by subverting everything at once, as Sulla did, but by amending merely the appointment of the kings. And it seemed but natural justice, in a way, that the best of the best should rule in a city which had the leadership in Hellas by virtue of his excellence, and not of his noble birth. For just as a hunter looks for a dog, and not the whelp of a certain bitch, and a horseman for a horse, and not the foal of a certain mare (for what if the foal should prove to be a mule?),

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οὖτως ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀμαρτήσεται τοῦ παντός, ἐὰν μὴ ξητῇ τὸν ἄρχοντα τίς ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τίνος. αὐτοὶ γὲ τοῦ Σπαρτιάται βασιλεύοντας ἐνίος ἀφεῖλοντο τὴν ἄρχην, ὥσ ὦ βασιλικοὺς, ἀλλὰ φαύλους καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας. εἰ δὲ κακία καὶ μετὰ γένους ἄτιμον, οὐδ' ἀρετὴ δὲ εὐγένειαν, ἀλλ' ἄφ' ἐαυτῆς ἔντιμον.

3 Ἀἱ τοίνυν ἀδικίαι τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ φίλων, τῷ δ' ἀχρι φίλων ἐπράχθησαν. Δύσανδρος μὲν γὰρ ὀμολογεῖται τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐξ- ἀμαρτείν καὶ τὰς πλείστας σφαγὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπεργάσασθαι δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος.

4 Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον περιέκοψε τὸ στρατι- ωτικὸν φθονήσας, καὶ Δολοβέλλα τὴν ναυαρχίαν ἐπεχείρησε δοὺς ἀφελέσθαι, καὶ Δουκρήτιον Ὁφέλλαν ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑπατείαν μνώμενον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀποσφάξαι προσέταξε, φρίκην καὶ δέος ἐμποίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπος ἀπασι διὰ τῆς τῶν φιλτάτων ἀναιρέσεως.


2 ὁ δὲ οὔτε νέος ὁ περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμετρίαζε διὰ τὴν πενίαν οὔτε γηράσας διὰ τὴν ἠλικίαν,
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so the statesman makes an utter mistake if he enquires, not what sort of a man the ruler is, but from whom he is descended. And indeed the Spartans themselves deposed some of their kings, for the reason that they were not kingly men, but insignificant nobodies. And if vice, even in one of ancient family, is dishonourable, then it must be virtue itself, and not good birth, that makes virtue honourable.

Moreover, the acts of injustice which one wrought, were in behalf of his friends; while the other's extended to his friends. For it is generally agreed that Lysander committed the most of his transgressions for the sake of his comrades, and that most of his massacres were perpetrated to maintain their power and sovereignty; but Sulla cut down the number of Pompey's soldiers out of jealousy, and tried to take away from Dolabella the naval command which he had given him, and when Lucretius Ofella sued for the consulship as a reward for many great services, ordered him to be slain before his eyes, causing all men to regard him with fear and horror because of his murdering his dearest friends.

III. Still further, in their pursuit of riches and pleasures we discover that the purpose of one was more befitting a commander, that of the other more characteristic of a tyrant. For Lysander appears to have perpetrated no act of wantonness or youthful folly while he enjoyed such great authority and power, nay, if ever man did, he avoided the praise and reproach of the proverb: "Lions at home, but foxes abroad"; so sober, Spartan, and restrained was the way of life which he everywhere manifested. But Sulla allowed neither the poverty of his youth to set bounds to his desires, nor the years of his old age,
Пери γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης εἰσηγεῖτο νόμοις τὸις πολίταις αὐτὸς ἔρων καὶ μοιχεύων, ὡς φησὶ Σαλούστιος. Ὁθεν οὖσι τὴν πόλιν πτωχῆν καὶ κενὰ ἐποίησε χρημάτων ὡστε ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ φίλαις πόλεσιν ἀργυρίου πωλεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν, καίτοι τοὺς πολυαργυρωτάτους οἴκους καὶ μεγίστους ὁσμέραι 3 δημεύοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκηρύττοντος. ἄλλα μέτρων οὔτε ἦν τῶν ῥιπτομένων καὶ καταχορηγουμένων εἰς τοὺς κόλακας. τίνα γὰρ εἰκὸς εἶναι λογισμὸν ἢ φειδώ πρὸς τὰς παρ’ οἶνον συνουσίας 4τὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτας, ὃς ἐν φανερῷ ποτὲ τοῦ δήμου περισσῶτερος οὐσίαν μεγάλην διαπιπτόσκων τιμῆς τῆς τυχούσης εἰς ἐνα τῶν φίλων ἐκέλευε κατακρύσσειν, ἐτέρου δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ὑπερβαλομένου καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος τὸ προστεθὲν ἀγορεύσαντος διηγανάκτησε, “Δεινὰ γε, ὅ φίλου πολίται, καὶ τυραννικὰ πάσχω,” φάμενος, “εἰ τὰ ἐμὰ μοι λάφυρα διαθέσθαι μὴ ἐξεστὶν ὡς βουλομαι.”

4 Δύσανδρος δὲ καὶ τὰς αὐτῶ ἀνθείας δωρεὰς μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων ἀπέπεμψε τοῖς πολίταις. καὶ οὐκ ἔπαινῳ τὸ ἔργον. ἵσως γὰρ ἔβλαψε τῇ κτήσει τῶν χρημάτων τὴν Σπάρτην οὕτως οὐσίαν οὐκ ἔβλαψε τῇ ἀφαίρεσι τῆς Ἶρωμην ἐκεῖνος. ἄλλα τεκμηρίων τούτοις ποιοῦμαι τῆς ἀφιλοπλουτίας τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἰδιον δὲ τι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάτερος ἐπάθε. Σύλλας μὲν γὰρ ἀκόλαστος ὄν καὶ πολυτελῆς ἐσοφρόνιζε τοὺς πολίτας, Δύσανδρος δ’ ὃν αὐτὸς ἀπείχετο παθῶν ἐνέπτησε τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε ἀμαρτάνειν τῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ὄντα χείρων τῶν ἰδίων νόμων, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ χείρων ἀπεργαζόμενον τοὺς πολίτας. δεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐδίδαξε 5 οὔτως.
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but continued to introduce marriage and sumptuary laws for the citizens, while he himself was living in lewdness and adultery, as Sallust says. In these courses he so beggared and emptied the city of her wealth that he sold to allied and friendly cities their freedom and independence for money, although he was daily confiscating and selling at public auction the wealthiest and greatest estates. Nay, there was no measuring what he lavishly squandered and threw away upon his flatterers. For what calculation or economy could be expected in his convivial associations and delights, when, on a public occasion, with the people standing about, at the sale of a large property, he ordered the crier to knock it down to one of his friends at a nominal price, and when another bidder raised the price and the crier announced the advance, he flew into a rage, saying: "It is a dreadful wrong, my dear citizens, and a piece of usurpation, that I cannot dispose of my own spoils as I wish." But Lysander sent home for public use even the presents which had been given to him along with the rest of his spoils. Not that I commend what he did; for he, perhaps, by his acquisition of money for Sparta, injured her more than Sulla injured Rome by robbing her of it; but I offer this as a proof of the man's indifference to riches. Moreover, each had a peculiar experience with his own city. Sulla, who knew no restraint in his extravagance, tried to bring the citizens into ways of sobriety; while Lysander filled his city with the passions to which he himself was a stranger. The former erred, therefore, in falling below the standard of his own laws; the latter, in causing the citizens to fall below his own standard, since he taught Sparta to want
τὴν Σπάρτην δὲν αὐτὸς ἔμαθε μὴ προσδείσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολιτικὰ ταῦτα.

IV. Πολέμων δὲ ἄγωσι καὶ στρατηγικαῖς πράξεσι καὶ πλήθει τροπαίων καὶ μεγέθει κινδύνων ἀσύγκριτος ὁ Σύλλας. ὁ μὲν τοι γε δύο νίκας ἑξηνέγκατο ναυμαχίαις δυσὶ· προσθήσω δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀθηνῶν πολιορκίαν, ἔργῳ μὲν οὐ μεγάλην, τῇ δὲ δόξῃ λαμπροτάτην γενομένην.

2 τὰ δ’ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Ἀλιάρτῳ δυστύχεις μὲν ἵσως ἐπράξθη τινὶ, κακοθουλία δὲ προσέοικεν οὐκ ἀναμείναντος ὅσον οὐτοὶ παρούσαι εἰ Πλαταίων τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἄλλα θυμὸ καὶ φιλοτιμία παρὰ καιρὸν ὠσαμένου πρὸς τὸ τείχος, ὡστε τοὺς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκπηδήσαντας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καταβάλειν αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ὃς Κλεόμβροτος ἐν Δεύκτρωι ἀντερείδων ἐπικειμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὔδὲ ὃς Κύρος οὔδὲ ὃς Ἐπαμεινόνδας κατέχον ἐγκεκλικότας καὶ τὸ νίκημα βεβαιούμενος πληγή καίρια περίεπεσεν.

3 ἄλλης οὖντοι μὲν βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν θάνατον ἀπέθνησκοι, Δύσανδρος δὲ πελταστόι καὶ προδρόμου δίκην ἀκλεῶς παραναλώσας εαυτῶν, ἐμαρτύρησε τοῖς παλαιοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ὅτι καλῶς ἐφυλάττοντο τὰς τειχομαχίας, ἐν αἷς οὐχ ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς μόνον τοῦ τυχόντος, ἄλλα καὶ ὑπὸ παιδὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἀποθανεῖν ἄν συντύχοι πληγέντα τὸν κρατίστον, ὡσπερ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φασίν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάριδος ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ἀναιρεθήναι.

4 Σύλλας μὲν οὖν ὁσαὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως ἐνίκησε νίκας καὶ κατέβαλε μυριάδας πολεμίων οὔδε ἀριθμῆσαι βαρίδιον ἔστιν· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην δίκε, καὶ τὸν Πειραιὰ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὐ λιμῷ.
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what he himself had learned not to want. Such was
their influence as statesmen.

IV. But as regards contests in war, achievements
in generalship, number of trophies, and magnitude
of dangers encountered, Sulla is beyond compare.
Lysander, it is true, won two victories in as many
naval battles; and I will add to his exploits his siege
of Athens, which was really not a great affair, al-
though the reputation of it was most brilliant. What
occurred in Boeotia and at Haliartus, was due, per-
haps, to a certain evil fortune; but it looks as though
he was injudicious in not waiting for the large forces
of the king, which had all but arrived from Plataea,
instead of allowing his resentment and ambition to
lead him into an inopportune assault upon the walls,
with the result that an inconsiderable and random
body of men sallied out and overwhelmed him. For
he received his death wound, not as Cleombrotus did,
at Leuctra, standing firm against the enemy’s onsets,
nor as Cyrus did, or Epaminondas, rallying his men
and assuring the victory to them; these all died the
death of kings and generals. But Lysander threw
away his life ingloriously, like a common targeteer
or skirmisher, and bore witness to the wisdom of the
ancient Spartans in avoiding assaults on walled cities,
where not only an ordinary man, but even a child or
a woman may chance to smite and slay the mightiest
warrior, as Achilles, they say, was slain by Paris at
the gates.

In Sulla’s case, at any rate, it is no easy matter
even to enumerate the pitched battles which he won
and the myriads of enemies whom he slew; Rome
itself he captured twice, and he took the Piraeus of
καθάπερ Δύσανδρος, ἄλλα πολλοὶς ἀγώσι καὶ μεγάλοις, ἐκβαλὼν Ἀρχέλαον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, κατέσχεν. ἔστι δὲ μέγα καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀντιστρατήγων. τρυφὴν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ παιδιὰν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον διαναιμαχεῖν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδον κυβερνήτην, καὶ Φιλοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἔξαπατάν δημαργοῦν,

'Αδοξοῦ, ἀκραν γλῶσσαν ἣκονημένου.

οὔς οὐκ ἂν ἱπποκόμῳ Μιθριδάτης ὑπὲρ ῥαβδοῦχω
5 Μάριος ἕξισε παραβαλεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν δὲ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀνταραμένων δυναστῶν, ὑπάτων, στρατηγῶν, δημαργῶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἄλλους εάσω, τίς ἦν Ρωμαίων Μάριον φοβερότερος ἢ Μιθριδάτου βασιλέως δυνατώτερος ἢ Δαμπτωνίου καὶ Τελεστίου τῶν Ἐθνικῶν μαχιμώτερος; ὃν ἐκείνος τὸν μὲν ἔξεβαλε, τὸν δὲ ὑπέταξε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέκτεινε.

V. Τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ὃς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκεῖνο ἔστιν, ὅτι Δύσανδρος μὲν 478 κατώρθων πάντα τῶν οἰκοὶ συναγωνιζομένων, Σύλλας δὲ φυγᾶς ὅν καὶ κατεστασισμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καθ’ ὅν χρόνον ἡλιύνετο μὲν αὐτοῦ γυνῆ, κατεσκάπτετο δὲ οἰκία, φίλοι δὲ ἀπέθνησον, αὐτὸς ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ταῖς ἀναριθμητοῖς μυριάσι παρατασσόμενος καὶ κινδυνεύων ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρί-2 δος, ἵστη τρόπαιον, καὶ Μιθριδάτη συμμαχίαν διδόντι καὶ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδὲν οὐδαμή

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Athens, not by famine, as Lysander did, but by a series of great battles, after he had driven Archelaüs from the land to the sea. It is important, too, that we consider the character of their antagonists. For I think it was the merest child’s play to win a sea-fight against Antiochus, Alcibiades’ pilot, or to outwit Philocles, the Athenian demagogue,

“Inglorious foe, whose only weapon is a sharpened tongue”; ¹

such men as these Mithridates would not have deigned to compare with his groom, nor Marius with his lictor. But of the dynasts, consuls, generals, and demagogues who lifted themselves against Sulla, to pass by the rest, who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius? who among the kings was more powerful than Mithridates? who among the Italians was more warlike than Lamponius and Telesinus? And yet Sulla banished the first of these, subdued the second, and slew the others.

V. But what is of more weight, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned, Lysander achieved all his successes with the co-operation of the authorities at home; whereas Sulla, though he was overpowered by a hostile faction, and an exile, at a time when his wife was being driven from home, his house being demolished, and his friends being slain, when he himself, too, was confronting countless myriads of enemies in Boeotia and risking his life for his country, set up his trophy of victory; and not even when Mithridates offered him an alliance and forces to wield against his enemies at Rome, would he make

μαλακῶν ἐνέδωκεν οὔτε φιλάνθρωπον, ἀλλʼ οὐδὲ προσείτεν οὔτε τὴν δεξίαν ἐνέβαλε πρότερον ἢ πυθέσθαι παρόντος ὅτι καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφήσει καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραδίδωσι καὶ τοὺς βασιλεύσων
3 ἐξίσταται καὶ Βιθυνίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας. ἂν οὔδεν ὅλως δοκεῖ Σύλλας κάλλιον ἔργον οὔτε ἀπὸ μείζονος εἰργάσθαι φρονήματος, ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ οἰκείου πρόσθεν θέμενος, καὶ καθάπερ οἳ γενναίοι κύνες οὐκ ἄνεις τὸ δήγμα καὶ τὴν λαβὴν πρότερον ἢ τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀπειπεῖν, τότε
4 πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἴδιων ἀμνας ἀφήμησεν. ἐπὶ πάσιν δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἐχεῖ τινὰ ῥοπὴν εἰς ἢθους σύγκρισιν εὖγε Σύλλας μὲν ύπὲρ τῆς Μιθριδάτου δυνάμεως καὶ ἡγεμονίας πολέμησαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν ἐλευθέραν ἀφῆκε καὶ αὐτόνομον, Δύσανδρος δὲ τοσαύτης ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσοῦσαν οὐκ οὐκ ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄφελόμενος ὀμοτάτους αὐτῇ καὶ παρανόμους ἀπέδειξε τοὺς τυράννους.
5 "Ὡρᾳ δὴ σκοτειν, μὴ οὖ πολὺ τάληθος διαμαρτάνωμεν ἀποφαινόμενοι πλέονα μὲν κατωρθοκέναι Σύλλαν, ἐλάττωνα δὲ ἐξημαρτηκέναι Δύσανδρον, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἑγκρατείας καὶ σοφροσύνης, τῷ δὲ στρατηγίας καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀποδιδόντες τὸ πρωτεῖον.
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any concession whatsoever, or show him kindness even; nay, he would not so much as greet him or give him his hand, until he heard him say personally that he would relinquish Asia, hand over his ships, and restore Bithynia and Cappadocia to their rightful kings. No act of Sulla’s whatsoever appears more honourable than this, or due to a loftier spirit, because he set the public interests before his own, and, like dogs of noble breed, did not relax his bite or let go his hold until his adversary had yielded, and then only did he set out to avenge his own private wrongs. And besides all this, their treatment of Athens is of some weight in a comparison of their characters. Sulla, after taking the city, although it had fought against him to support the power and supremacy of Mithridates, restored her to freedom and independence; whereas Lysander, although she had fallen from such a great supremacy and empire, showed her no pity, but took away her democratic form of government, and appointed most savage and lawless men to be her tyrants.

We may now consider whether we shall err very much from the truth in pronouncing our verdict that Sulla won the more successes, while Lysander had the fewer failings; and in giving to the one the preëminence in self-control and moderation, to the other, in generalship and valour.
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A

Abydos, 105, a city of Mysia, on the eastern shore of the Hellespont, nearly opposite Sestos on the European side.

Acastus, 441, mythical king of Iolcus in Thessaly. He was one of the Argonauts, and took part in the Calydonian boar-hunt.

Adepsus, 409, a town on the N.W. coast of Euboea, nearly opposite Thermopylae on the mainland.

Aegospotami, 107, a stream on the western side of the Hellespont, nearly opposite Lampsacus, with a town of the same name upon it.

Agatharchus, 43, of Samos, prominent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter, 460–420 B.C.

Alcman, 441, the greatest lyric poet of Sparta, who lived from about 670 to about 630 B.C. He was a Lydian by birth, and was brought to Sparta as a slave.

Alcmen, 313, wife of Amphitryon, king of Thebes, and mother of Heracles by Zeus. After the death of Amphitryon she married Rhadamantus.

Amphictyons, 363, officers of the Amphictyonic League, which comprised the peoples whose common sanctuaries were the temple of Apollo at Delphi and that of Demeter at Anthela, near Thermopylae.

Amphitryon, 313, mythical king of Thebes, and husband of Alcmena.

Anaxagoras, 263, of Clazomenae in Ionian Asia Minor, prominent at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460–432 B.C., when the enemies of Pericles brought about his banishment.

Anaxandrides, 281, the Delphian, probably of the third century B.C., author of a work on the plundered offerings of Delphi.

Andronicus, 407, the Rhodian, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Rome in the middle of the first century B.C.

Antennae, 423, an ancient city of Latium, some three miles south of Rome, just below the junction of the Anio with the Tiber.

Anthesterion, 373, the eighth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding to the latter part of February and first part of March.

Antigonus Doson, 143, a grandson of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and king of Macedonia 229–221 B.C.

Antilochus, 283, otherwise unknown.

Antimachus, 283, of Colophon, a celebrated poet of Lysander's time, called "clarus poetae" in Cicero, Brutus, 51, 191.

Antisthenes, 3, the Socratic, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates.

Antium, 149, 163, 167, 171, 181, 215, a city of Latium, on the seacoast about forty miles south of Rome.

Anytus, 13, 151, an influential politician at Athens, afterwards
one of the principal accusers of Socrates, after whose death he was sent into exile by the Athenians.

Apollonius, 407, of Teos, a Peripatetic philosopher, and a great collector of books by foul means and fair. He was obliged to fly from Athens to save his life, but returned to be prominent under the tyrant Aristion. He was not living when his library was taken to Rome.

Archestratus, 43, 285, perhaps the choral poet mentioned in the Aristides, i. 4, as flourishing during the Peloponnesian war.

Arginusae, 249, a group of three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

Ariobarzanes, 335, 337, 399, 405, became king of Cappadocia in 93 B.C., but was soon afterwards expelled by Tigranes, king of Armenia, the son-in-law of Mithridates.

Ariston, 361, 367, 401, illegitimate son of an Athenian Peripatetic philosopher named Athenion, to whose property and citizenship he succeeded. He also taught philosophy. He was sent as an ambassador of Athens to Mithridates, in whose confidence he established himself, and on returning to Athens in 88 B.C. made himself tyrant of the city through the patronage and in the interest of that monarch.

Aristophon, 43, a distinguished Athenian painter, brother of the great Polygnotus. Aglaophon, however, was probably the author of the painting here spoken of.

Arsaces, 335, Arsaces IX. in the succession of Parthian rulers bearing this name. He seems to have asked for and obtained an alliance with Rome.

Asia, 359, 397, 399, the country on the west coast of Asia Minor out of which the Romans formed the province of Asia in 129 B.C.

Aspendus, 77, a city of Pamphylia in southern Asia Minor, on the river Eurymedon.

Aulis, 309, a town of Boeotia, on the strait of Euripus, nearly opposite Chalcis in Euboea. It was the rendezvous for the expedition of the Greeks under Agamemnon against Troy.

B

Battus, 143, Battus II., the third king of Cyrene, on the north coast of Africa. His reign began in 583 and ended soon after 570 B.C.

Bola, 187, an ancient town in Latium, of uncertain site.

Bocchus, 329, 331, 333, 337, a king of Mauritania, who betrayed Jugurtha to the Romans in 106 B.C.

Bosporus, 359, the kingdom of this name extended along the northern shore of the Euxine sea, on either side of the strait between that sea and Lake Maeotis, the strait called the Cimmerian Bosporus.

C

Cappadocia, 335, the eastern district of Asia Minor, between Pontus on the north and Cilicia on the south, and bordering on Armenia.

Callisthenes, 441, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who attended Alexander the Great on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.C.

Capua, 418, the capital city of Campania, finally subdued by the Romans in 211 B.C.

Carbo, 397, 415, 419, 421, Cnaeus Papirius, one of the leaders of the Marian party. After his flight to Libya (p. 419) he was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put to death (Pompey, chapter x.).

Catiline, 431, Lucius Sergius, the
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famous conspirator in the consulship of Cicero, 63 B.C. (Cicero, chapters x.-xxii.).

Censorinus, 337, Calus Marcius, prominent among the leaders of the Marian party and in many conflicts with Sulla. He was finally taken prisoner and put to death by Sulla in 82 B.C. Cicero speaks of him (Brutus, 87, 237) as well versed in Greek literature.

Chalcedon, 85, 87, 89, a Greek city in Bithynia, opposite Byzantium.

Chalcis, 389, 391, a city in Euboea, on the strait of Euripus, nearly opposite Chalcis in Boeotia.

Chersonese, 243, 255, 257, 263, the Thracian Chersonese, or peninsula, on the west of the Hellespont.

Choeurlius, 281, of Samos, 479-399 B.C., author of an epic poem on the Persian wars.

Cinna, 357, 397, Lucius Cornelius, leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87-84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85, and 84. He was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla.

Circeii, 185, a town of Latium, on the sea-coast about eighty miles S.E. of Rome.

Cithaeron, Mt., 311, a range of mountains separating Attica and Boeotia.

Clazomenae, 81, an Ionian city on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.

Cleanthes, 15, of Assos, a Stoic philosopher, who succeeded Zeno as head of the school at Athens in 263 B.C. His Hymn to Zeus is still extant.

Cleon, the Haliacarnassian, 303, 305, a rhetorician who flourished at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C.

Critias, 97, 118, a brilliant follower of Socrates, like Alcibiades, and later one of the Thirty Tyrants. He was author of tragedies and elegiac poems.

Cyzicus, 67, 81, 83, a Greek city on the Propontis, in Mysia.

D

Dalmachus, 263, 267, perhaps the same person as the Dalmachus of Plataea (Comparison of Solon and Publicola, iv. 1), a historian who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

Dionysius, 237, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C.

Dodona, 305, a town in Epirus, famous in earlier times for its oracle of Zeus, the influence of which among the Greek states was subsequently assumed by the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

Dolabella, 415, 421, 449, Cnaeus Cornelius, consul in 81 B.C., and afterwards proconsul of Macedonia. In 77, he was prosecuted by Julius Caesar for maladministration of his province (Caesar, iv. 1).

Dursis, the Samian, 93, 281, historian and for a time tyrant of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus. He lived about 350-230 B.C. He was an extravagant and sensational writer.

Dyrrhachium, 409, a city on the coast of Illyricum, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

E

Ephorus, 95, 277, 291, 305, 319, of Cymé, pupil of Isocrates with Theopompus, and author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from earliest times down to 340 B.C., in which year he died. Epidaurus, 363, a city on the east coast of Argolis in Peloponnesus, famous for its shrine and cult of Aesculapius.

Eumolpus, 369, a mythical Thracian bard and warrior, called in to aid Eleusis against Athens, and slain by Erechtheus.

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Evagoras, 261, king of Salamis in Cyprus, extravagantly praised, in the oration of isocrates bearing his name, as a mild and just ruler. He was a constant friend of Athens from the time here mentioned till his death in 374 B.C.

F

Fenestella, 417, a Roman historian who flourished during the reign of Augustus.

Fidentia, 413, a town of Cisalpine Gaul (now northern Italy), on the Via Aemilia, south of the Po.

G

Gelo, 155, tyrant of Syracuse 485–478 B.C., and victor over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C.

Glaucia, 447, Calus Servilius, prae tor in 100 B.C., a partizan of Marius, and partner of Saturninus in the popular tumults of that year. He perished with Saturninus. Cicero compares him to the Athenian demagogue Hyperbolus (Brutus, 62, 224).

H

Heraea, 295, a city of northwestern Arcadia in Peloponnesus.

I

Isocrates, 27, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436–338 B.C.

J

Juba, 381, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

Jugurtha, 329, 331, 337, king of Numidia 112–106 B.C., when he was brought a prisoner to Rome, and starved to death in 104.

L

Lamponius, the Lucanian, 419, 455, one of the principal leaders of the Italians in the war with Rome (90–88 B.C.).

Lampsacus, 107, 255, a famous Greek city on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, opposite Aegospotami.

Larissa, 401, an important city in N.E. Thessaly.

Laverna, 341, of unknown site.

Lavicum, 187, an ancient town in Latium, of uncertain site.

Lavinium, 189, an ancient town of Latium, near the sea-coast, about seventeen miles S.E. of Rome.

Lepidus, 435, 437, 443, Marcus Aemilius, father of the triumvir. He was driven from Italy by Pompey in 77 B.C., and died shortly afterwards in Sardinia.

M

Maedi, 408, a powerful people in the west of Thrace.

Maeotis, Lake, 359, the modern Sea of Azov, north of the Black Sea.

Malea, Cape, 359, the S.E. extremity of Laconia in Peloponnesus, now Cape St. Angelo.

Marsil, 331, a warlike nation in central Italy, often victorious over the Romans. They were finally subdued soon after 89 B.C., and admitted to Roman citizenship.

Metellus, 341, 343, 419, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla's death in 79 B.C., he went as proconsul to Spain to prosecute the war against Ser-
torius (Crassus, chapter vi.). It has been shown that Metella, the wife of Sulla, was not the daughter of Metellus Pius, but of Metellus Dalmaticus, his uncle.

Metellus, 447, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Numidicus, consul in 109 B.C., and conqueror of Jugurtha. As censor in 102 B.C., he attempted to expel Saturninus and Glauzia from the senate, but was prevented from doing so and himself expelled and driven into exile for a year (100–99 B.C.).

Meton, 45, the astrologer, the most famous mathematician and astronomer of his time. In 432 B.C., he published a new calendar with a cycle of nineteen years, intended to reconcile the lunar and solar years.

Mithridates, 335, 343, 351, 359, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly called Mithridates the Great, 120–63 B.C., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.

Mucius, 441, probably Publius Mucius Scaevola, consul in 133 B.C.

Munychion, 273, the tenth month in the Attic calendar, corresponding to the latter part of April and first part of May.

Niceratus of Heracleia, 283, otherwise unknown.

Nicomedes, 399, 405, the third king of Bithynia bearing this name. He was reseated on his throne in 90 and 84 B.C. by the Romans, and reigned ten years after the second restoration till his death in 74 B.C.

Nola, 351, 353, an ancient and important town in Campania, some twenty miles S.E. of Capua.

Norbanus, 411, 413, consul in 83 B.C. After his defeats by Sulla and Metellus, he fled to Rhodes, where he put an end to his life.

Panactum, 33, a fortress of Attica on the confines of Boeotia, betrayed to the Thebans in 420 B.C. (Thuc., v, 3, 5).

Pedum, 187, an ancient town of Latium, of uncertain site.

Pergamum, 359, 401, the chief city of Mysia in Asia Minor, from 363 to 133 B.C., the seat of the Attalid dynasty. The last Attalid bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans.


Pherecydes, 441, of Syros, a writer on cosmogony and mythology who flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.C.

Philippos, 403, a city of Macedonia on the river Strymon, formerly called Crenides, renamed by Philip the father of Alexander the Great.

Phocaeia, 243, the most northerly of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor.

Phyle, 291, 311, a fortress on Mt. Parnes commanding the road from Athens and Eleusis to Thebes, some sixteen miles from Athens.

Pompeius, Quintus, 343, 351, surnamed Rufus, tribune in 199, praetor in 91, and consul with Sulla in 88 B.C. Sulla left him in charge of Italy on settling out for the East, but he was murdered by the soldiers of Pompeius Strabo who had been assigned to his command.

Pontus, 305, 359, 397, the district extending along the S.E. shore of the Euxine Sea, the seat of the kingdom of Mithridates.

Prænestes, 417, 499, 423, 429, an ancient city of Latium on a spur of the Apennines about twenty-three miles east of Rome.

Proconnesus, 81, an island in the western part of the Propontis.

Ptolemy, Lathyros, 143, Ptolemy VIII., king of Egypt 117–81 B.C., surnamed also Soter and Philometor.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

R

Rhadamanthus, 313, mythical son of Zeus and Europa, brother of Minos the king of Crete. He fled from Crete to Ocalea in Bocotia, where he married Alemene. He became one of the judges in the lower world.

Roscius, 439, a great actor, from whom Cicero learned much, and of whom he often speaks in high terms of praise (cf. pro Archia, 8, 17).

S

Sallust, 451, 86–34 B.C., historian of the Conspiracy of Catiline, of the Jugurthine War (111–106 B.C.) and also, in a work that is lost, of portions of the Civil Wars.

Saturninus, 447, Lucius Appuleius, a Roman noble who allied himself with Marius and the popular party, tribune in 102 and 100 B.C., in which year he perished at the hands of a mob.

Selymbria, 87, 89, a Greek city on the northern shore of the Propontis, some forty miles west of Byzantium.

Servilius, 419, Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus, made consul by Sulla in 79 B.C. In the following year he was sent as proconsul to Cilicia to clear the sea of pirates. He was successful, and received the surname of Isauricus from one of the robber tribes which he subdued.

Sestos, 107, 109, 255, 257, 269, the chief town of the Thracian Chersonese, opposite Abidos on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont.

Sighia, 415, an ancient city of Latium, now Segni, some thirty-five miles S.E. of Rome, in the Volscian mountains.

Silvium, 413, a town in the interior of Apulia, of uncertain site.

Sphacteria, 35, an island stretching in front of the harbour of Pylos, on the western coast of Peloponnesus.

T

Tarentum, 411, a great and powerful city in S.E. Italy, at the head of the gulf to which it gave its name.

Taureas, 43, competed with Alcibiades as choragus in a dithyrambic contest at the Greater Dionysia (cf. Demosthenes, Or. xxi. 147).

Tectosages, 331, a Celtic people dwelling at the foot of the Pyrenees in Gallia Narbonensis.

Tegea, 319, an ancient and powerful city in southern Arcadia of Peloponnesus.

Theophrastus, 25, 267, 285, 407, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C. at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompos, 95, 277, 319, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, historian of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon (360–336 B.C.). He is always censorious of Athens and her popular leaders.

Theopompos, the comic poet, 269, an Athenian poet of the Old and Middle Comedy, who wrote as late as 380 B.C.

Theramenes, 3, 91, 271, a brilliant naval commander who cooperated successfully with Alcibiades in the closing years of the Peloponnesian war. He was one of the Thirty Tyrants and favoured a moderate course, but fell a victim to the jealousy and hatred of Critias.

Thyatira, 405, a large city in the north of Lydia, about forty-five miles S.E. of Pergamum.

Timon, 43, the misanthrope, an Athenian of the time of the Peloponnesian War. He is attacked by the comic poets as a man-hating solitary. Plutarch devotes chapter lxx. of his Antony to a sketch of the man. A dialogue of Lucian bears his name.
Timotheus, 339, from 375 to 354 B.C. one of the most popular and successful Athenian commanders. Tolericum, 187, an ancient town in Latium, of uncertain site.

Torquatus, 421, perhaps the Manlius Torquatus who was pro-praetor of Africa about 70 B.C.

Troad, 403, a district in the northwestern angle of Mysia, bordering on the Hellespont and the Aegean Sea, named from ancient Troy.

Tyrannio, the grammarian, 407, a native of Amisus in Pontus. He was brought as a captive to Rome by Lucullus in 72 B.C. (Lucullus, xix. 7). There he became a teacher, was patronized and praised by Cicero, and amassed wealth.

V

Vellitrae, 145, a city of Latium, on the southern slope of the Alban hills, about thirty miles S.E. of Rome.
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